THE CANADIAN PROVINCES

THEIR PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

JOHN NELSON

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The Canadian Provinces

Their Problems and Policies

BY

JOHN NELSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

RIGHT HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN
K.C., P.C., M.P.

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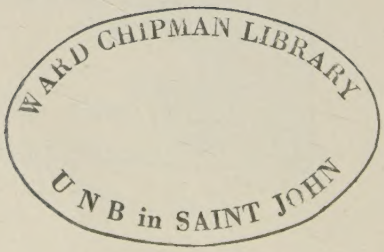

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FOREWORD

ALTHOUGH the Dominion of Canada has both international and imperial relationships of importance, her most important problems are those of internal development and adjustment. Upon their wise solution her progress, her unity and even her safety depends.

Physical facts have increased these difficulties. "A bundle of faggots is always stronger than single sticks," said the Fathers of Confederation; "let us bind the provinces together with steel rails."

"Yes," was Huntingdon's reply, "but you are going to bind them together at the ends."

Successive generations of Canadian statesmen have recognized that danger. More than one transcontinental railway has been built to meet it; freight rates are under constant scrutiny to overcome it. Yet wide, obstinate spaces still intervene between the people of older Canada and those of newer Canada; between sections marked by sharp distinctions of race and language; between provinces of varied resources and outlook. Neither the staggering responsibilities which have been assumed by the Canadian people in railway extension, nor the enterprise of her newspapers which have attempted to bridge great physical intervals with electric media for the ready transmission of thought, opinion, and incident, have

fully met the difficulty. Much of Canada is still a strange land to other parts of it.

A comprehension by all parts of the difficulties of each is fundamental to that sympathetic co-operation, without which Confederation is but a rope of sand. That is not a condition easy to attain. But it can, at least, be fostered by every patriotic effort, no matter how modest, to promote a common understanding between all parts of the Dominion. This book is a humble contribution to that end. It is not exhaustive, nor does it presume to be authoritative. It deals inadequately with many of the questions which come under review. But it is an honest attempt to relate the various sections of Canada to one another; to explain in popular form the problems with which each is confronted, for the benefit of the rest; and to co-ordinate the thinking of the Canadian people with respect to those major problems, so closely associated with Canadian national life.

John Nelson.

INTRODUCTION

THE gifted and well informed writer of the following pages has performed a task of first-rate importance. The times were ripe for just such an appraisal of our peculiar national problems; problems which, in many respects, stand by themselves and are of a character calling for the hearty unselfish co-operation of our best minds, irrespective of party affiliations or racial inheritances. The whole work is conceived in a fine judicial temper, and the writer has been most happy, indeed felicitously so, in his just yet sympathetic comprehension of those various points of view, which, when over-emphasized, tend to retard rather than build up the happiness and prosperity of Canada as a whole.

And it is Canada as a whole that the author always has in mind; even when he seems to be advancing what, on a superficial first reading, might be taken as *ex parte* views. Long a resident of "the last West" he yet has a keen appreciation of the undeniable grievances which, for more than three decades, have vexed the souls of our good friends in the Atlantic Provinces. His own masterly summing up of the broad national outlook in the last chapter is so concise, illuminating and eloquent that it would seem almost an act of presumption to attempt to add even a few words of comment. Mr. Nelson has touched every phase of Canadian life, some-

times etching with light strokes, at other times cutting deeply into the plate, and the result is the most complete picture of Canada and present day Canadian problems which has yet appeared in print. In some respects the book will be a revelation even to fairly well-informed Canadians: especially those portions which deal with northern British Columbia and its immense, almost incalculable resources.

As was inevitable, in view of what has happened in the political world since the signing of the armistice, our author found himself under the necessity of dealing with sectional difficulties of a peculiarly delicate character, more particularly in the case of the Prairie Provinces. In hands less skilled this portion of the book might easily have become the subject of impassioned controversy. He has contented himself with statements elaborated in the quiet atmosphere of the scholar and thinker. He takes no sides, but whenever possible allows the principals engaged in the combat for opposing theories of Government to state, each in his own way, what is being sought as a desirable end. He does not attempt to sum up, but is content to let the reader arrive at his own conclusion.

From all of which it will be gathered that the book is not partisan or controversial, but aims to be illuminating and constructive. Facts are presented but never in isolation. Running through the whole, like the *leit-motif* in a piece of concerted music, is the vision of Canada as a single national entity. One, indeed, has the

feeling in reading these fascinating pages that, as a result of wide traveling and constant mingling with the people of our various provinces, the writer has had his own Canadianism and his loyalty to the Empire deepened and strengthened. Everywhere, from the Basin of Minas to where the mountains meet the western sea, he has met with men and women of all ranks with whom he has instantly felt at home and whose aspirations and ideals he has found to be identical with his own. His plea that Canadians should travel more widely in their own country ought not to fall on deaf ears. It comes almost as a shock to be told that there are good folk in the Maritime Provinces who still speak of going to "Upper Canada" or "Up to Canada". The trade policy of our neighbour to the south, consistent and persevering in principle but ever varying in degree, and as well the supreme necessity of uniting our country and binding her provinces in mutual interest together, have forced us to seek markets east and west instead of north and south. The result has been a revival of confidence in our ability to overcome, what at first sight, seemed an almost insurmountable handicap. But, as our author points out what is still more essential is that our people should travel east and west and get to know each other more intimately. The picture he draws of the beauty of Prince Edward Island, for example, is alluring. Is it not a rather sad comment on our provincialism that for one Ontarian who visits that delectable spot there

are at least a hundred Americans? Nor are other parts of the Maritime Provinces less attractive. The Bras d'Or Lakes are of unique loveliness. Thousands upon thousands of Canadians have taken the trip down or up the Hudson; but how many are familiar with that much grander and wilder river, the St. John?

It is easy to see that in writing of the eastern Maritime Provinces the author was deeply moved, not alone by the magnificent scenery, but by the grand simple character of the people who, from the earliest beginning of our history, have, in the face of almost heartbreaking obstacles preserved their courage and faith. His clear presentation of the problems and legitimate grievances of our kindred by the sea ought to help pave the way to having them rectified. We cannot afford in Canada, scant in population and widely scattered, to tolerate conditions which, if left to smoulder will, in the end, drive us farther and farther apart. In that direction lies disruption, if not indeed a consequence more disastrous. The conclusion one gathers from the chapter on the Atlantic Provinces is that there are real grievances there and that they must be speedily settled on just and permanent lines. While our author gives us abundance of material data and leaves in our minds the impression that Canada is possessed of almost inconceivable natural resources I do not think this is the most valuable part of his timely book. I should be inclined to say that the chief contribution is psychological. His masterly

sketch of how the British Columbians came to be what they are—open, large, hospitable, optimistic, prodigal, and somewhat impatient of eastern conventions—is of exceeding value and a genuine contribution to Canadian history. In itself, this chapter dealing with the beginnings of that last post of Empire is an excellent piece of work. It is just such touches as we have here and elsewhere that give to the book its quite unique charm and which raise it out of the passing dust of ephemeral journalism into the domain of permanently useful literature.

Forests, rivers, mountains, cities and railways even are all enthralling in their way; but the true interest of a land is always its people. When we penetrate to the springs of human action we are in the world of true romance. If we can catch the national point of view of a people we have a key to its history and may with confidence forecast its future. But this sort of envisagement comes but by prayer and fasting. Our author has gained possession of the rare treasure.

Take, for example, his chapters on Quebec. The opening paragraph gives the tone to all that follows;—that Quebec is fundamentally religious in its outlook. Here is a people, long isolated from the great centres of European thought and European culture and, owing to the bar of language and as well to the vast rocky wilderness which bounds it on the south, cut off from the restless democracy of America, who have victoriously kept for over three centuries of

time a stubborn fidelity to an inherited way of looking at life. It is their way, precious to them; and such as they are they propose to remain. They consider themselves in a quite unique and peculiar sense Canadians. There are other Canadians of course; they would be the last to seek to monopolize the title; yet can we blame them if they look upon all others outside of Quebec in much the same light as the Pilgrim Fathers who sailed from Delfthaven came to look upon "the late comers," or Puritans who sailed later from Plymouth? It is clear from the fascinating way in which Mr. Nelson writes that, in his opinion, nowhere else on the face of the earth is there such an intense and passionate devotion to *Patria* as in Quebec. The Quebecker never boasts his intimacy with any other land and he wants no other land. It is a bitter, heart-breaking tragedy when he is forced by economic pressure to leave it, and wherever he goes he carries a vision of his austere and beautiful mother in his heart—even amid the clank and roar of the great industrial centres of the south. That he should take a proper pride in his Breton and Norman forebears—those veritable—*loups de mer*—is surely all to the good. Had Quebec been settled from the *Isle de France* or from the fruitful valley of the Loire, doubtless its history would have been different and possibly less prosaic and contented. But in the Providence of God it was settled by hardy sailors and peasants with a healthy admixture of nobles and gentlemen, and what we

behold is the long result of three centuries of patient toil and of profound religious faith. There are signs, however, that a great change is impending. Quebec, geographically, is the largest of all the provinces, and it, too, like Ontario, is only at the beginning of industrial expansion. How vast an heritage the people of Quebec are about to enter upon has been set forth with great skill by our author, and need not be specified here. One thing, however, is plain: Ontario and Quebec must more and more come into intimate, friendly relations, since their problems are the same. Together, at the present moment, they share between them the heavy end of our financial burden, and this must continue for many years to come—unless, indeed, the far North West and the Maritimes should make phenomenal strides in wealth and population and so enormously increase their nation-bearing powers—"a consummation devoutly to be wished."

The darkest and most discouraging fact in present day Canadian life, and Mr. Nelson fearlessly and wisely presents it in all its sinister import, is the constant loss of our best native stock to the United States. There are those who say that this is all in the course of Nature, and that it is the destiny of Canada to bear the same relationship to the great Republic to the south as Scotland has long borne to England and other lands. In other words, it is said that our mission is to breed, educate and export men. The analogy does not hold for a single instant.

Canada is a vast unexploited country which could support in comfort a population of at least a hundred million. The Hon. Mr. Taschereau boldly affirms that repatriation of those who have emigrated to the United States is an instant and imperative obligation to Quebec. The writer heartily agrees; but he would include, not only the ex-patriated Quebeckers, but those hundreds of thousands of sturdy men and women from all the provinces who for the past few years have wended their way southward and who if conditions in Canada were more industrially healthy would be with us at this hour. The true and only remedy is by the courageous revival of a sound and determinedly Canadian policy based on our necessities and opportunites, to provide profitable employment to our people and for all who may in the future seek our shores.

Finally, and as bearing directly on this problem, Mr. Nelson has done well to emphasize our enormous resources in what has come to be called "white coal". Nature, niggardly in some few respects, has been lavish in this resource. The great watershed of the continent runs from east to west. Rivers innumerable, including such giants as the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Peace, flow both north and south from this ridge-pole of a continent. That Canada is destined in the not distant future to become one of the great manufacturing centres of the world is beyond dispute. The sucking in of our population by the big indus-

trial maelstrom to the south has here its true solution. The development of our Hydro-electric energy, and as well the fearless assertion of every other advantage we possess, will bring them back and in addition many thousands of the best stock of selected lands. What applies to the Eastern provinces applies also to the North-West and British Columbia. The day may yet come when the trade of a thoroughly aroused Orient will turn Alberta and British Columbia into veritable hives of industry.

Finally the writer is glad that our author has done full justice to old Ontario—the largest Anglo-Saxon island on the American Continent. Here again, he has wisely avoided subjects of controversy, not taking sides but stating the case in all fairness. It was inevitable, as we now know, that there should ensue a moral and emotional reaction from the splendid idealism called forth by the war. That reaction, terrible in its effects and long continued, has left no country unscathed. In the great unsettlement, and we may add, the tragic disillusionment, men sought novel and untried paths or started forth on uncharted seas. But that chapter of political experiment is probably closed. To-day, though heavily burdened, the people of Ontario have no fear of the future. To the young men of Ontario a new call has gone forth—the call of the far North. There, on the great Huronian axis, is not only illimitable water power and vast stretches of clay land and forest, but mineral riches that may well stagger

imagination. The lure is northward to the Hudson's Bay and beyond. Ontario will always remain one of the fairest of pastoral lands, one of the busiest of productive spheres, the seat of a living culture and of a stern loyalty; but the horizon of hope has shifted, and what at one time seemed a rocky wilderness fit only for the lumberman and the trapper, is now known to hold the golden key of the future.

Arthur Meighen.

PREFACE

THE articles in this volume were first suggested by Mr. J. Vernon McKenzie, the editor of MACLEANS MAGAZINE, in which periodical they appeared during 1923.

In their preparation every province of the Dominion was visited, the main journey alone involving over 13,000 miles of travel. Such a survey was necessarily hasty and superficial. An attempt, however, has been made while preserving the vividness of first impressions, to authenticate these from the experience of men on the ground. Hence almost every provincial premier and opposition leader was interviewed, as well as university, financial, labor, agricultural and transportation men, and those invaluable sources of ready reference in every country, its working journalists.

It would be futile to attempt to acknowledge the assistance of all those who contributed in this way. But among those who gave generously of their crowded time were Sir Robert Borden, Sir Lomer Gouin, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Hon. N. W. Rowell, Sir George Foster, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. T. A. Crerar, Mr. Forke, M.P., the late Senator Thorne, Senator Jas. Ross (ex- governor of the Yukon), Geo. Black, M. P., Mr. Tom Moore, Mr. P. Draper, Hon. H. H. Stevens, Mr. E. W. Beatty, Sir

Henry Thornton, Mr. Justice Duff, Sir John Willison, Sir Jos. Flavelle, Premiers Ferguson Tachereau, Bracken, Dunning, Greenfield, Oliver, Venoit, Armstrong and Bell. Ex-Premiers Drury of Ontario, Foster of New Brunswick, and Murray of Nova Scotia, together with the opposition leaders of most of the provinces, freely gave their views. Departmental officers like Deputy Ministers Wallis, Colquhoun, and Gibson of Ontario; Geo. Batho of Manitoba; Hedley Auld of Saskatchewan; Amos, Piche and Parmalee of Quebec, and Librarian Healy of Manitoba; with Mr. D. C. Coleman, Mr. Norman Lambert of Winnipeg, and Chief Engineer Gaby of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission placed their special or technical knowledge at the interviewer's disposal. The publicity officers of the three western provinces, Messrs. Macdonald of Manitoba; McLeod of Saskatchewan; and Colin Gross of Alberta were also most obliging in furnishing data. Mr. R. A. Benoit of Quebec and Mr. Fred Pearson of Halifax each possess stores of local information which they generously shared with the writer. Grateful acknowledgement is also made of the help of newspaper friends, notably John Imrie, Hon. Frank Oliver and Balmer Watt in Alberta; J. W. Dafoe, M. E. Nichols and E. H. Macklin in Manitoba; Messrs. Penny, Barnard and Chalmers in Quebec; Messrs. Black of the Fredericton Gleaner and Nash of the Charlottetown Patriot; and many others.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS —SOMETIMES GOOD, OFTEN 'ORRID—NO LACK OF INDUSTRY—FOILING THE SEASONS —CUTTING DOWN ON VACATIONS—FRUITS OF RESEARCH—DRIVEN TO DIVERSIFICATION—OTHER VITAL PROBLEMS—ERADICATING PAROCHIALISM— PATERNALISTIC DEVICES—SOCIAL CO-OPERATION—HOSPITAL PROVISION.

CANADA'S Middle West, like ancient Gaul, is divided into three parts. But its internal divisions are almost purely arbitrary. There are no mountain ranges such as divide Alberta from its western neighbor, and no great water course like that which flows between two of the older provinces. Soil, climate and resources are similar. These lands, too, share a common handicap which applies to none of the other provinces. For, unlike other parts of Canada, they lack an immediate outlet (if Hudson's Bay, be, for the moment, excluded) to navigable waters.

A vast empire, greater in extent than Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain and Portugal combined, lies between the mountains and the Bay. With almost all the factors to make of it the granary of the world, it is still at one disadvantage, as compared with other great

wheat growing areas—Russia, China, Argentine or the middle States—with which it must compete. It lacks those waterways which pierce the interior, or lave the shores of the lands mentioned. It must depend on long and expensive land hauls. It is this fact that lies behind the insistent demand that steps be taken without further delay to "open the Bay."

The problems of these three provinces—Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta—are therefore one. They have their roots almost exclusively in the soil. They are the product partly of climate, partly of geography, and partly of circumstance. Geography gave to the western Canadian farmer his transportation and marketing problem. Climate imposed upon him a seasonal occupation. He is partly the victim, and partly the creator of fell circumstance which to-day holds him in its clutch. Against all three he is now vigorously fighting, and attempting to meet them by such methods as may, in each case, be invoked.

In the meantime a combination of events has financially prostrated him. In his search for relief he may often appear impatient, frequently illogical, and sometimes unreasonable. He may even turn to false gods, political and otherwise. If so, he is but exercising the human prerogative to err. He should not be judged too harshly, in the circumstances, by his more fortunate fellow Canadians. His case may well occupy the sympathetic thought of his countrymen to the East and to the West, because on the proper

solution of his troubles, rests, in a large measure, the future success of this Dominion and the solidarity of its people.

In the chapters which follow an attempt will be made to interpret these problems, as they affect each of the provinces, not separately, but as a whole.

These lands are not new. The seventeenth century was far from spent when Prince Rupert and his gentlemen adventurers came trading into Hudson's Bay. Their crumbling forts still mark the region where the future elevators of the railway which perpetuates that name, will stand. Far to the north and west there were thriving posts at Fort Chipewyan and at Fort Edmonton late in the eighteenth century. These old traders and trappers accepted the country as they found it. They were content that it should be a Great Lone Land.

Where they capitulated to the climate, their successors defied it. In the year that Brock fell at Queenston Heights, Lord Selkirk, and his handful of settlers opened a longer and more desperate fight in the valley of the Red River. It was a struggle with the facts of physical science as then understood—a long and painful fight in which men, uninstructed and inexperienced, were thrown back again and again, broken and dispirited, but never beaten. It is out of the lessons of those defeats that to-day in cabinet council, in re-search bureau, in study, in laboratory, and in the field, men of sturdy minds and bodies are organizing the forces of victory.

They no longer rely on tradition, or depend upon experiment. The greatest epoch in the story of the plains is just emerging, based on the sure tests of experience and of scientific fact.

That knowledge is badly needed. There is much in the situation on the prairies to-day which is the direct result of ignoring natural laws. The cowboys who rode across the southern boundaries in the early seventies drove their cattle into grass which was fresh in summer and dried and cured where it grew, before the fall frosts came. The warm Chinook winds from the Pacific melted the snow; the deep coulees furnished shelter for their animals in winter; great unfenced and unclaimed areas furnished them with ample range during the remainder of the year.

But twenty years later, land hunger led to homesteads where long the corral only had stood. The plough was introduced. Wheat was sown. An occasional wet year, with its phenomenal yields, strengthened the hope that these semi-arid lands could be converted into wheat fields. It is this that has created the problem of the drought areas of southern Alberta and south-western Saskatchewan. And there are few problems which clamor more insistently for solution at the doors of the executive councils of the three provinces.

Sometimes Good, Often 'orrid

For the land is so fertile that under favorable conditions it yields phenomenally. Hon. Frank

Oliver compares southern Alberta to the little girl in the nursery rhyme:

"When she is good, she is very, very good,
"And when she is bad she is 'orrid."

The average precipitation is very low. Good results follow only after summer fallowing, or as ex-premier Stewart insists, "spring-fallowing," so that the maximum advantage may be derived from the spring moisture. In 1915 summer-fallowed land in southern Alberta yielded sixty-three bushels to the acre. The average for thirteen years was twenty-five bushels. But for six years, up to 1922, there was practically no crop. The lean years unfortunately began, just at the height of the war when there was a demand for greater production, with a prospect of high prices. As a result there were bigger cropping areas, less summer fallowing, and an aggravation of conditions already serious. In the wake of these barren years came weeds, soil drifting, grasshoppers, and cut worms.

Calamity was temporarily averted by government relief to the extent of $3,000,000. Assistance of other kinds, for which the government requires underwriting in the form of a first charge on the land, has resulted in such a formidable list of priority claims against property, that the mortgage companies threaten to withdraw from the field. Alberta has cut off doles, offered the stricken settlers a transfer to other parts of the province, and has given them protection through a Drought Commissioner against confiscatory acts by creditors. In Saskat-

chewan, this officer has permissive, not mandatory powers. But his rulings are accepted by the mortgage and trust companies. How necessary his services are may be gathered from the fact that in six months he and his officers made 4,300 adjustments in southern Saskatchewan, all of which were accepted by the banks and loan companies.

No Lack of Industry

The trouble, of course, does not all arise from the mistakes in the dry belt. The greater production campaign which marked the closing years of the war is accountable for much distress. Men who owned one section, bought two; the banks were liberal with their credits and many borrowed to capacity. In Saskatchewan alone, the government sold 387 tractors for cash. The price of land bounded upward in sympathy with the general enthusiasm. With wheat at $2.50 a bushel, many did not hesitate to pay $80 an acre for more land.

But with wheat at eighty cents or ninety cents, land is worth, relatively, only $20. It no longer pays to drive tractors in any but the larger areas. Cattle bringing three or four cents a pound on the hoof, are not an attractive asset. No wheat yield is good enough to create enthusiam in a ninety cent market. A short crop in the northern portions of some of the provinces accentuated the crisis.

These ills cannot be charged to lack of industry. Per capita, western Canada produces

more wheat than any part of the world. The western farmer produces one hundred bushels per man—four times as much as a man in Argentina and five times as much as his cousin in the land of "seven meal, meat-fed men"—Australia. Yet this does not alter the fact that in Manitoba, only fifteen bushels to the acre is grown, as compared with thirty-three in Germany, notwithstanding that it is now almost universal practice to summer fallow the fourth year. The average crop, therefore, over periods of four years is really only eleven bushels.

There has been a decrease of a little more than a bushel to the acre in each of the last three decades, a condition which is engaging the close attention of the experts of the different agricultural faculties throughout the West. And there is less land under wheat in Manitoba today than there was fifteen years ago.

These experts find that one effect of a generation of cropping to wheat, on the seven inches of surface soil in Manitoba, has been to reduce the nitrogen by from twenty per cent. to thirty per cent., the phosphorous content by an equal amount, and the organic matter by from twenty to fifty tons per acre. This loss represents one-quarter of the potential wealth of the surface soil.

Three Farmer Premiers

It is, perhaps, fortunate that at a juncture in the history of the west when so many practical questions in agriculture are pressing for adjustment, there should be at the head of the

respective governments three experienced and thoughtful farmers. Each is a product of the soil. They have had different training. They are complementary to one another. All are bringing earnest consideration to the fundamental facts which have been outlined in the foregoing.

Premier Greenfield, of Alberta, is a hard-headed, square-jawed yeoman who has met all the difficulties, primitive and modern, which attend the development of a ranch in the west. Premier Dunning—twenty years ago a poor immigrant lad—has conducted successfully, not only his farm, but the largest co-operative wheat marketing organization in the world, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company. He handles men and political crises as skilfully as he does marketing problems. Premier Bracken is one of the greatest living authorities on many farm subjects. He was the head of the Manitoba Agricultural College, when drafted for his present post, has headed many exhaustive surveys of agricultural conditions in the three provinces, and probably speaks with as much authority on such subjects as any one west of the Great Lakes. And when he discusses the disturbing facts growing out of the attempt to carry on wheat farming in the arid belts, and of over-cropping of grain in his own province, he does so with the thoughtful deliberation of the student.

"What few people are yet able to understand," he says, "is, that we are raising wheat

further north than has ever before been attempted, outside of Norway and Sweden, and Russia. The experience of neither the Scandinavian nor the Russian peasant is of much service to us. The first has the benefit of the moderating influence of the Gulf Stream, and Russia, it is reported, raises only eight bushels of wheat to the acre, so it furnishes us with no helpful precedent.

"We are cultivating wheat in parts of Western Canada that a few years ago were regarded as part of the Great American desert. Sixty years ago they thought Illinois was the northern limit for wheat growing, because the wheat sometimes froze there! But men pushed further and further west until this country has become one of the world's greatest wheat producers."

The suggestion, sometimes met, that cultivation has moderated the climate is dismissed as fallacious by the premier. The records of two thousand years in the countries of the Mediterranean, show that there is no permanent alteration there, and there is nothing to suggest such a change in the Canadian west. The mountain will not come to Mahomet; Mahomet must go to the mountain.

"We are limited," he says, "by a short frost-free period and by a long, cold winter, to the use of such annual crops as are quick maturing and to such biennial and perennial crops as are very hardy." The period during which the farmer may definitely depend on absence of frost ranges from seventy to one hundred and ten days.

Into this period he must compress all the activities of preparing the soil, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting.

So far as the western farmer is concerned, these are Canada's Hundred Days.

Foiling the Seasons

But men of the Bracken type are not content to merely confine their activities to the narrow space between the late frosts of spring and the early frosts of the fall. Though a wise selection and propagation of suitable types and varieties has enabled the agriculturist to ignore the climate boundaries formerly recognised, the future of the West depends so utterly on exhausting every production possibility, that it plays a large part in the plans of all the forehanded men on the plains.

On the wall of one of the minister's rooms for the province of Alberta there hangs an interesting map. It is of western Canada. But across it, in great sweeping curves, from east to west, run heavy inked lines—red, and blue, and yellow. Through northern Labrador they run almost directly west until they cross Hudson's Bay. Then they suddenly swerve far to the north, passing out to the Pacific through the valley of the Peace.

They denote the northermost limits at which wheat, potatoes, and coarse cereals may be grown and matured.

But they do more. They mark the new frontiers.

For to the men of the West a frontier is no longer a chain of forts and stockades against hostile natives, nor a mere boundary line to be delimited by diplomats; but a scientific division between possible and impossible areas of production. And it is not a fixed, or final line. Thanks to the sleepless industry of experts in laboratory and research bureau it is being pushed steadily further and further north. Ten or twenty miles of advance means millions of bushels in the total production of the world.

Perhaps, the first concern of these research experts is to alter the general farming policy from one of grain growing to that of dairying and live stock. To this they are stimulated by a number of reasons. One is the ceaseless drain upon soil vitality involved in continual wheat growing. Another is the need of manure, and in this connection it is pointed out that those European countries which import coarse grain from this continent and feed animals are able to secure double the yield per acre of wheat that is derived from the virgin soil of Canada.

Cutting Down on Vacations

There is another important reason. At present the work of the western farmer is highly seasonal. The labor of a whole year is crowded into the two or three months in which the grain is being cared for and harvested. This not only induces high wages during the period in question; it makes for long months of unemployment as well. These winter months used to be set

apart for trips to the older provinces, to points farther west, or to California or Florida. The farmer's pocket book no longer permits that excursion. Those who, in more opulent days, did not care to go to warmer climates, often closed up the homestead and took furnished flats, or rented apartments in hotels in the principal cities. It is well for the future or prairie farming that those days have passed. The plainsman is now engaging more and more in poultry raising, in hogs, in live stock and in dairying, and these do not permit only spasmodic labor.

In this he lacks the forage crops which are possible further east and south. Outside of the Red River valley red clover cannot be grown, and sweet clover is used as a substitute. In the Argentine, cattle run the year round, but some hay at least must be put up on the prairies, and in many sections during the winter the animals must be housed. In spite of all these things there has been a gratifying increase in the output of butter, cheese, bacon, and beef. The passage of the Fordney bill has, however, imposed a heavy handicap from which for the moment, there seems no prospect of relief.

The effect of the Fordney tariff is reflected in the record of one stockyard (Moose Jaw) which, in the three fall months of 1920, exported to the U.S.A. 37,056 head of live stock as compared with 7,500 during the same period after that law became operative.

In all the provinces the departments of agriculture work in close co-operation with the

research departments of the provincial universities, and in conjunction they are making contributions of incalculable value to the solution of rural problems. There are enormous preventable losses that yearly cost the country dear. A noxious weed survey made by a commission of which Premier Bracken was the chairman, before he became head of the government, shows that this drain upon provincial resources in itself represents a staggering sum. The average annual loss from this source for a period of five years in the province of Manitoba is estimated at five million bushels. Insect depredations are held responsible for a loss of $7,000,000 per year in the same province. In increased production costs and in lowered yields, the Manitoba weed crop costs the farmers annually $20,000,000 or nearly seventy times the upkeep of the agricultural college. Nor is this the only loss involved in the old system. "Every forty million bushels of wheat shipped out of Manitoba," says Mr. Bracken, "takes from her soil plant food constituents that would cost more than $12,000,000 to replace. If we were shipping butter instead of wheat the valuable fertilizing constituents shipped away would cost less than $40,000 to replace."

Fruits of Research

Conditions such as these constitute a challenge to expert research, and the result is, in many instances, full of encouragement. Some single experiments have produced results

which seem likely to enrich the country to an extent hundreds of times as great as the whole cost of the institutions in which they were conducted. Dr. H. M. Tory, president of the University of Alberta, was able to point such a moral in addressing the members of the legislature, by telling them of Gladstone's visit to Michael Faraday, after the latter had produced the first electric spark.

"But what can you do with it, Mr. Faraday?" inquired the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Faraday, who had thought little of the possible uses of his discovery, being absorbed only in establishing a scientific fact, answered in a burst of inspiration.

"Perhaps you might tax it."

Even he doubtless failed to foresee the millions of pounds sterling which eventually would be collected in taxes from the huge electrical plants which his discovery called into life.

On the occasion in question, the president announced the results of some years of quiet tests which, he said would, if they justified the belief of those responsible for them, create enough additional wealth in one season's crop to pay all the taxes of the farmers of Alberta.

This was a super-Marquis wheat, the result of four years of experiment by Prof. Cutler. By selection and propagation in experimental plots throughout the province, a cereal has been evolved which runs more than two inches longer in straw, and produces 9.2 more bushels to the acre than the ordinary Marquis wheat.

Now, the wheat yield of the three prairie provinces for 1921 is estimated at 375,000,000 bushels. Taking the whole crop at a low average of fifteen bushels per acre, and Cutler's variety at an increase of five bushels to the acre the result would be an added revenue, on the same acreage, of more than $100,000,000. It is not hard to believe that the greatest advantages to the farmer will come from sources like these rather than from lowered freight rates, important as they doubtless are. It took the state of Illinois twenty-five years to increase its annual yield of wheat per acre by three bushels. Cutler's researches, on the same basis, equal in value the work of a third of a century elsewhere.

Over in Saskatchewan, Prof. Thompson is endeavoring to produce a wheat which will retain the good qualities of Red Fife or Marquis but which will resist rust. Prof. Newton, of one of the Alberta faculties, has been studying the qualities which make winter wheat, alfalfa, and red clover immune from frost, drought and disease. Physical and chemical means have been employed to distinguish varying degrees of hardiness in wheat, and the results are most satisfactory.

Driven to Diversification

It is not climatic conditions alone which have driven the prairie experts to research. For instance the deputy minister of agriculture for Alberta estimates that while it takes 85 cents to deliver $1 worth of oats at Liverpool, and 60

cents to deliver $1 worth of wheat, it requires but 12 cents to deliver $1 worth of eggs and only 5 cents to deliver $1 worth of bacon.

The moral of this is obvious and it has been quickly seized upon by the farmers of the westernmost of prairie provinces. In 1920 Alberta was not raising enough hogs to supply her own demand. In one year the pig population doubled and there was a large surplus for export. It was found that to secure the 10% bonus of the federal government for select type bacon hogs with the coveted Wiltshire sides the farmers must change 92% of the breeds they were producing. And this they promptly did.

But corn, peas and clover are very necessary articles of diet for the porcine aristocrat, and in the northern latitudes these are matured with difficulty. Corn, normally, will not ripen at a lower temperature than 49 degrees. Barley and peas are under a similar handicap. Practically all these difficulties are being mastered. Dean Howes is now producing a Flint corn, smaller in cob than the ordinary but with firm, mature kernels. He has evolved a barley from which the sharp barb has been removed. In the college grounds is being grown a Swedish clover which is perennial instead of biennial. The corn-growing zones of Iowa and Illinois still enjoy a longer ripening period but Alberta is being relieved of some of the disadvantages under which she has hitherto labored in developing her hog industry.

As these facts are established they provoke a demand for more definite information on matters

which have in the past been the subject of conjecture. The province of Saskatchewan produces two-thirds of all the wheat of the Dominion and there is a growing demand that it be bought on a protein basis as cream is bought on a butter fat basis. Northwest wheats would, it is believed, benefit by the adoption of some such system, because at present its grains are bought and mixed with southern wheat to secure sufficient protein content. The services of analysts are also being sought to determine the nutrition values of many crops, new and old. The same is true of pea vines and grasses supposedly strong in nutrients.

The extracting of gas from straw; of counteracting the effects of alkali water on concrete; of learning the life history of the wood tick and of the black fly; all these are now under review. That relating to concrete is of very wide interest because the effect of alkali water upon building material has a bearing upon the life of buildings, bridges, aqueducts and conduits used for irrigation.

In Saskatchewan confidence in the value of the enormous deposits of high grade clay that abound in that province has reached a point where it justifies the retention at the university of a professor in ceramics whose special task it is to develop and find a market for products of the deposit in question.

Other Vital Problems

But all the problems of a wheat-growing land are not met when weeds are destroyed, when

pests are eliminated, when acreage yield is doubled, freight rates reduced, or animal husbandry introduced to counteract the wastage of field cropping. Canada is already the second wheat producing nation of the world. Saskatchewan has a larger percentage of its area in field crops than any other province of the Dominion as well as producing two-thirds of the wheat of the entire country. But markets are never static. Whole peoples change their places of residence, their diets, or their habits.

Two disturbing factors have recently developed. Premier Dunning laid down his newspaper one day in the midst of a busy session at Regina and pointed to an item which stated that France had decided to bonus wheat growing in order to help meet the food situation within the republic.

"If, as a result of existing economic conditions in Europe," he asked, "other nations are forced to do what France is reported to be doing and what declining nations in the past have been forced to do, namely, feed themselves, what will be the effect on this country?"

Continuing, he pointed out that the 750,000 people in Saskatchewan could grow enough to feed thirty millions of people; and that the market for their product did not exist on this continent where a heavy tariff lay against both wheat and its alternative, live stock. If Europe failed there remained only the Orient. Any hope of a permanent market there, seemed idle in view of the comment of a distinguished

Chinese caller on the provincial premier a few weeks previously.

"If the day should ever come," he said, when our people abandon the national diet of rice for wheat flour, we will grow the wheat ourselves."

Before that day comes much will doubtless happen to alter the whole situation. And Europe may recover sooner than many think. But the contingencies mentioned are grave enough to be given consideration in the plans of those responsible for the future of the northwest. The water powers of Iceland are said to have been secured to drive mills which will grind Canadian wheat emerging via Hudson's Bay, when that route is developed, but this may be described as fantastic. Icelandic streams are likely to flow unharnessed long after the white coal of the Churchill and Nelson rivers has been employed for a similar purpose. These latter suggest other eggs for the provincial basket.

Eradicating Parochialism

The emergence of these facts is having its effect on the thinking of the whole people. They are fatal to insularity. The prairie farmer is learning that the interests of the men in Europe, and of himself, are intimately interwoven. He knows that on these plains there are wonderful water powers to drive the wheels of industry; lakes like Great Slave larger than Erie or Ontario, and Hudson's Bay teeming with fish;

great mineral belts with rich deposits awaiting transportation; and the greatest coal beds in the world all pending development.

He is beginning to realize what a home market involves for the man on the land. It is because of this that in the governments, universities, boards of trade, and similar organizations throughout the West, you find a restless and eager turning to new and unexploited sources of wealth.

"I prefer to develop the St. Lawrence water way, rather than that by Hudson's Bay," said one official, "because on the first we are likely to have cities and industries multiply, giving us a further market for our stuff, while on the other we are not so likely to get that result."

In a land where the rural idea dominates every situation, it is but natural that governments should take their complexion largely from the viewpoint of the agriculturist. Governments in all the provinces lend a sympathetic ear to agricultural needs. As a result, the numerous co-operative organizations usually have behind them substantial government aid. The farmer is rapidly learning that in co-operation lies his best hope for success and thus the demands upon the government are by no means small.

Paternalistic Devices

These assume various forms. In some of the provinces the dairy industry has been wonderfully improved by judicious supervision and aid.

In others, seed grain is tested and marketed under government supervision. A gratifying start has been made with co-operative marketing of live stock. A live stock improvement train travels Manitoba, loaded with the best general stock and sires procurable, and accompanied by representatives of the Dominion and provincial governments, of agricultural colleges, packers, stockyards, bankers, breeders' associations, railway companies, and domestic science departments. One train travels the national line, and one the C.P.R. Experts answer all questions. Movies illustrate the text. Farmers are told how to prepare their stock for market. Scrub bulls are brought in for the block, in part payment for pure bred types.

The dealers assist in other ways. They bear the expenses of bringing boys to Winnipeg, and maintaining them for a week at a time in order that they may see the stock yards, learn the points of excellence which increase prices, and in other ways familiarize themselves with an important branch of their farm education.

The co-operative idea extends through every activity in which the farmer is interested. In it he has found his economic salvation and it ranges from insurance against hail storms, to the marketing of his wheat. It is doubtful if there is anywhere in the world a co-operative system like that of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company. The Saskatchewan government guarantees the elevator company to the extent of $600,000 and the Saskatchewan Cream-

eries $387,000. The former was started in 1911 and in ten years it had dotted the province with elevators, 232 in number, with a total capacity of 5,300,000 bushels. It had 21,000 shareholders and has, since it commenced operations, handled 209,416,891 bushels of grain. The United Grain Growers, though not so large, handles the grain of Manitoba and Alberta and has been a great buying agency for the farmers, in the way of implements, farm necessaries and supplies.

Social Co-operation

There is another form of co-operation, less spectacular perhaps, which renders to the settlers a service the value of which is hard to over-estimate. These are provinces of immense distances, and of few large centres. In some of the provinces the pleasures of the library, of the moving picture, of the theatre, and of the lecture hall, are carried to small but numerous groups. The Alberta extension society sent out last year more than 1,200 plays. It furnished 1,200 sets of fixed slides, besides movie films and machines. Small travelling libraries of forty volumes are sent broadcast, for the mere cost of carriage. The extension society has two readers at Fort Norman, 1,500 miles north from Edmonton.

During the year, 30,000 people viewed the moving picture films, and 113,000 the lantern slides.

Bulletins giving a digest of legislation and other public matters are widely circulated and

reprinted in the rural press. It is thus that the authorities are seeking to overcome the obvious drawbacks which great distances entail. The effect of these aids to the men and women meeting regularly in their locals, is marked.

"Our rural population," says Premier Greenfield of Alberta, "is surpassed nowhere in the knowledge of public issues. Townsmen tell me that when they want to get information on any public matter they have only to ask their farmer customers when they come in to trade."

This problem of isolation is increased by the character of the soil of which the country roads are composed. Saskatchewan with less than three quarters of a million people, has enough roads to reach round the world eight times and back to England. But they are largely composed of Gumbo. Gumbo contains a slippery substance which makes the roads very treacherous after light showers and almost impassable after a continued downpour. Here the research officers are again coming to the aid of the countryman. For one hundred miles along the Athabasca river below Fort McMurray, there are great deposits of tar sands from which it has always been hoped oil might be extracted in paying quantities. On analysis it is found that about twenty per cent. of the material is bitumen and the remainder a sand so fine in quality that it will not bind. Tests made by the university experts show that when this bitumen is released from the sands, it can be mixed with the gumbo of the country to produce a road surfacing

material which is absolutely impervious to moisture. While the tests are not yet complete, it is hoped that this process can be done economically enough to solve one of the greatest hindrances to travel and settlement in that country. "If you want to keep a boy on the farm, make it easy for him to get off the farm", says ex-Premier Drury of Ontario. And good roads answer that requirement.

The spaciousness of the plains appeals to many; to others their solitude is oppressive. To those in abounding health there is an exhilarating appeal in their extent. But in less happy days, when physical ills press, this stimulus is sometimes replaced by a sense of isolation. And in the dark hours which come to all the mothers of men, long distances from human sympathy and professional help, are always trying and sometimes tragic.

This drawback all the governments are trying to meet in varying forms. Scattered up and down the country are chains of excellent hospitals locally conceived, locally maintained, and locally governed.

Hospital Provisions

In Alberta, to quote a typical system, several ridings may unite, under the provisions of a special act to erect a hospital. The basic revenues are from a tax of from 3 to 4 cents per acre per annum on the lands involved. The plan must be approved by a three-fourths vote of the people. Bonds are then issued for twenty

years carrying 7%. A non-land owner may bring himself within its provisions and benefits by paying $10 a year. In return the farmer and any or all of his dependants may take full advantage of hospital service—bed, board, nurse, dressing and drugs—for $1 per day.

These hospitals vary in size from 20 to 60 beds. No ward has more than three beds and patients are so associated that semi-privacy is assured.

"The nature of the illness, and the need of the patient, not the size of his pocket book, determines the character of the accommodation," says Supt. Whiston.

These hospitals are operated thriftily. Each inmate costs on an average $2.40, including maintenance, operations, board and repayment of debentures and interest. There are fourteen of these hospitals and the fact that during the past year 600 maternity cases alone were treated in them, speaks eloquently of both the need and character of the service.

But in a great empire 750 miles long and from 200 to 400 miles wide, it is evident that even these hospitals must leave unserved many remote sections like the Peace. To these come free, from the government, a very comprehensive nursing service. Some of these nurses are on the frontier, more along the railway lines, equipped with small motor cars.

They discharge their duties under conditions that often call for heroic qualities. Among the foreign element there is perhaps the greatest

need because the greatest ignorance prevails, and the duties and difficulties which the nurse encounters may be presumed. Added to the natural obstacles of communicating in an unknown tongue, are national traits and prejudices and habits to which the trained Saxon nurse finds it hard to reconcile herself. "The homes are very poor in this district," writes one nurse. "There is one bed for a large family, and the children usually sleep on the floor. The floors are not wooden, but are plastered, half clay and half horse manure, which develops an offensive odor."

CHAPTER II.

THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS. ALTERNATIVE GRAIN ROUTES—SETTLEMENT AND FREIGHTS—WHEAT BOARD PROBLEMS—THEY'RE NOT UNANIMOUS—PREMIER DUNNING'S IDEA—HAS THERE BEEN INJUSTICE?

THE problems which have been mentioned in the previous article on the prairie provinces, are important. But perhaps the supreme one still remains. It is that of transport and markets. These wheat fields lie from four thousand to five thousand miles from the market. Until recently they depended practically on one avenue of transport—the St. Lawrence route. In summer the possibilities of the route were expanded by lake navigation; but in winter they were forced to depend on the rail haul all the way to St. John.

Where so much mileage is involved, every cent added to or taken from the freight rate becomes of importance, and the battle for lower carrier charges has been long and persistent. The first investigation into rate levels took place in 1895. It was continued by boards of investigation at regular intervals and was finally placed in the hands of a board of railway commissioners, in 1903. These commissioners, whose duties cover all Canada, have found that

most of their time has been absorbed in adjusting complaints on the plains.

Before the creation of this latter board, some relief was obtained through an arrangement between the C.P.R. and the government. In lieu of certain cash subventions amounting to about $4,000,000 and connected with the constitution of the Crow's Nest Pass railway, the railway company undertook to grant, indefinitely, certain commodity rates, chiefly on grain passing eastward through Fort William and on live stock passing westward through the same point. Rebates were also provided on certain commodities, more or less arbitrarily selected, moving westward from the eastern provinces.

The grain rate reduction amounted primarily to three cents per hundred pounds. The reduction on commodities for prairie points from the East ranged from ten per cent. to thirty-three per cent. and included such articles as fruit, coal oil, building material, cordage, binder twine, and agricultural implements.

This arrangement, highly advantageous to the western farmers, was discontinued in 1918 following a great increase in the wages of railway men, rendered necessary by the McAdoo award on U.S. lines. It remained in suspension until 1922, when it was restored, much to the delight of the shippers. It is estimated that the saving which the Crow's Nest agreement effected to the average shipper was $40 a car. But most of the advantage disappeared in the face of what

was charged to be a shipping combine on the Great Lakes and which has recently been made the subject of a parliamentary investigation.

Alternative Grain Routes

This occasioned great resentment among westerners and has made them more receptive than they might otherwise have been to the virtues of other routes. But the St. Lawrence route must remain for all time, a principal, if not the greatest, outlet for the products of the plains. For this reason the settlers are looking with deep interest on the deepening of the canals and the advent as a result of vessels of greater draught at the head of the lakes. It will bring the Atlantic more than 1,000 miles further inland, and ocean carriers to a point that much nearer the place where the freight originates. Premier Greenfield points out that there still remain several inevitable elevations—at the point of loading, at Fort William, at Port Colborne, or Port McNicholl, and at Montreal, and that as each of these represents from half a cent to a cent per bushel there must always be a heavy handicap on the lake haul as compared with the Pacific.

This latter route has recently been engaging the attention particularly of the Alberta government, though it is very sympathetically regarded by the governments of the other two provinces as well. Alberta has joined her case with that of British Columbia, which is pressing strongly for an adjustment of the mountain

haul rate to equalize it with similar distances on the prairie. During the past summer wheat loaded at Vancouver, even from points in Saskatchewan, could be handled on a competitive basis with that loaded at Fort William, for Liverpool, and the present freight rate campaign of Premier Oliver of British Columbia, would greatly extend the zone from which wheat may be drawn westward.

The British Columbia government is asking for the same rates per mile between prairie points and the coast that obtain from prairie points to Fort William. The mountain rate was approximately thirty per cent. higher. In June, 1922, this differential was cut in two. The Pacific province is now pressing for its entire elimination. It is claimed that under the fair conditions which such a change would bring about, 95,000,000 bushels would seek an outlet by the Pacific route.

Neither of the alternative routes to the Great Lakes is open to an objection that applies to the latter. During the past thirteen years, of the Canadian grain which reached the head of the lakes, forty-two per cent. was carried from that point in U.S. vessels to U.S. elevators, at U.S. lake ports, thence by U.S. railways to U.S. ocean ports. In the last crop year alone 114,000,000 bushels went that way and American transportation interests received approximately $28,000,000 for the service rendered. (Vide Edmonton Board of Trade report.)

But the alternative route upon which there appears to be unanimity in Manitoba, is that via Hudson's Bay. There has always been a sentimental attachment in the West for "the Bay" for it was via Hudson's Bay, in a sense, that these provinces came into the Dominion.

Its champions indeed, claim that the opening up of this route was tentatively agreed upon in the discussions preceding the entry of Manitoba into Confederation, and that it was then urged as being as vital to Manitoba as the Intercolonial was to the Maritime Provinces, or the C.P.R. to British Columbia. It has been promised by Tupper, Laurier, and Borden. It is approved by Meighen and King. About $15,000,000 has been spent on the road, and $6,000,000 on its terminals. Construction has proceeded spasmodically until the road is within one hundred miles of tide water. There has been little open opposition, yet the men in the West feel there has been but half-hearted support. And now, with the problems of marketing more insistent than ever, there is a concerted movement being fostered throughout the prairie provinces for its completion.

Reasons for Opening the Bay

In support of their contention westerners put forward many strong arguments. One is the fact that such a huge sum has already been expended that to abandon this railway now would be a shocking waste of public money. An equally strong argument is that the road has actually been financed by the West, being paid

for out of a special fund for which provision was made years ago. Large areas in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba were set aside and the proceeds from their sale ear-marked for this special enterprise. A statement by the Department of the Interior, submitted in 1922, shows that $28,000,000 has been realized from the sale of these lands, and that half of it has already been paid in cash.

The popular distrust of Hudson's Bay as a route for regular sailings has no doubt had some influence in delaying matters up to the present. A special Senate inquiry several years ago dissipated some of these misconceptions. It developed that in a century and three quarters, 750 vessels had entered the bay, ranging from a seventy-gun ship to a pinnace of ten tons and that only two had been lost. This was in the face of the fact that all the vessels in question were sailers and hence somewhat helpless in ice. It further developed that the period of navigation is determined not by the presence of ice in the bay itself (from which for many months yearly it is comparatively free) or even in the straits, but in the harbors, ports and roadsteads, and that the services of ice breakers in these can materially lengthen the season. This would seem to last for about four months, beginning in July. The Senate committee declared that the route was feasible and probably would be profitable, especially if proper aids to navigation were installed.

Given that the route is feasible on the ground of safety of navigation, the prairies have

a very strong case based on the tables of distances as compared with existing routes. The distance from Port Nelson, the terminal of the Hudson's Bay Railway, to Liverpool is almost exactly that from Montreal, namely 3,000 miles. This would save the 1,000 miles from Port Arthur to Montreal, for most of the prairie shipping stations are as near to Port Nelson as they are to Port Arthur. In conjunction with the Pacific route the use of this outlet would overcome the present congestion and excess freight rates on the Great Lakes, which during last season caused such resentment. It would bring Calgary, Edmonton, and Saskatoon more than one thousand miles nearer to Liverpool than is possible by any existing line.

Ontario, when her boundaries were being extended a few years ago, was sufficiently convinced of the value of the Bay to her northern territory that she secured the right to a five mile strip to Port Nelson and is already preparing to complete her T. and N. O. line to James Bay.

The advocates of the scheme find an additional argument in the history of this very railway—the T. and N. O. Conceived as a colonization line, its construction has opened up great belts of mineral territory which are enriching the province of Ontario. In northern Manitoba there are enormous deposits of copper and other ores which it is held will prove a source of similar wealth, once they are tapped by a proper system of transportation.

To-day Canada transports her wheat across natural barriers at much additional expense, to outlets remote from the point of production. The Bay gives the territory under consideration, for a period of the year at least, a great natural route comparable to those which serve similar wheat fields in Egypt, Argentina, Russia and China.

Settlement and Freights

These natural barriers make high carrying charges inevitable, but they do not reconcile the farmer to them. "Transportation costs have got be brought down to a better basis," declares Premier Greenfield. "Transportation interests must be content under actual conditions with a reasonable profit. They can not exist without the farmers, who provide most of the material they transport. The farmer cannot exist without transportation at reasonable cost. Agriculture and transportation are inter-dependent in so far as Western Canada is concerned. Transportation interests, rail and water, should be satisfied, until times become normal, with moderate dividends. Lower marketing costs, the elimination of every possible cent of present costs between the producer and the ultimate market is the prime essential for the present re-establishment and ultimate development of western agriculture. Too much attention has been paid in the past to increased production to the neglect of marketing. Until times improve I do not think we can expect much more settlement

along the Canadian National or any other railway line."

The disability complained of applies not alone to the actual, but to the potential products of the prairie. "We have coal enough for the needs of all Canada," says Attorney General Brownlee, of Alberta, "yet we cannot ship it beyond Winnipeg. Why, last year when there was such a shortage in Eastern Canada, we applied without success for a train load rate to Toronto."

This problem regarding coal is general throughout the West, particularly in Alberta. Robert Forke, the present leader of the Progressive party, says that $155,000,000 is spent annually by Canada for coal in the United States that might well be obtained in this country. Seventeen per cent. of the coal areas of Canada are in Alberta and in 1920, 7,000,000 tons were mined. Mr. Meighen claims that much of this coal can be mined for $2 per ton. These are the lignites with which much of the West is underlaid. There are no anthracites within 80 miles of a railway, and it is the opinion of the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Stewart, that it will cost $16 a ton to transport this to Ontario.

The present rate from Alberta to Toronto on lignite coal is more than $12.00 per ton. If this rate were cut in two, it is estimated this coal could compete sucessfully in the Toronto market with the U.S. article.*

Technical engineers are busy endeavoring to so treat these coals that they can be transported

*Since the above was written, a substantial reduction of the above rate has been made by the Canadian National Railways.

profitably. Saskatchewan has spent more than three quarters of a million dollars in seeking some method of carbonizing these fuels. A high authority states that there are thirty barrels of water and oil in a carload of lignite. Enormous tonnage is lost in slack, for which there is little or no demand. But in the research laboratories German and other processes are being tested with rather encouraging results. Even should Henry Ford's dream not come true, and the hidden forces of coal be released through mechanical means at the pit mouth and transported over power lines, it is by no means unlikely that these low grade lignites will, ere long, yield to the skill of chemist and engineer, and form an addition to the natural wealth of Canada, difficult of computation.

Of all the problems of the West, none will create a quicker or more heated discussion in that region than the subject of a Wheat Board. It has occupied much time in the Commons; it has been one of the most vexed questions before the various legislatures. It has formed the subject of tentative legislation at all the prairie capitals. The great body of the farmers, with a lively recollection of its effectiveness during the war, turn to the "old 'un," certain that in that quarter lies relief. The legislators, on the other hand, more conversant with its difficulties, accept its responsibilities with many misgivings.

Wheat Board Problems

There is general agreement among the prairie premiers for a temporary board; there seems

unanimity among them regarding the dangers of a permanent one. Hon. Mr. Bracken favors a compulsory board for this year,* as indeed do both his brother premiers. He thinks that the farmers cannot, for the present, use a voluntary pool, because creditors might force them to sell at inconvenient times. But he regards such a step this year as helping the morale of the people. Premier Greenfield is of the same view, because he says the people feel the government should come to their aid this year. But he wants the wheat pool to be co-operative, non-profit-making, farmer-owned, and farmer-controlled. And such a pool should embrace from sixty-five to seventy-five per cent. at least of the grain growers, to be effective.

The initiative of this year's legislation is coming from Saskatchewan, probably because Premier Dunning has a practical marketing experience that his brother premiers lack. The chief executive of Manitoba seems to have made his adherence to the idea of a compulsory board for this year dependent upon common action by the three governments to develop a co-operative, non-profiting, non-compulsory organization to handle subsequent crops. Premier Dunning made a recital of this proposal a pre-amble to a resolution of his legislature asking the government of Canada to extend the operation of the Wheat Board Act for one year from August,

*These articles were written in 1923.

1923, and offering to co-operate with the other provinces in giving effect to it.

They're not Unanimous

It must be recognized that some of those most active in Wheat Board operations in the past, are far from enthusiastic about it now. These include James Stewart, of Winnipeg, chairman of former Wheat Board of Canada, who is regarded as one of the shrewdest grain men in the world, and Hon. T. A. Crerar, ex-Leader of the Progressive party, who probably appreciates more than those who clamor for its restoration the changed conditions under which such a body would now be obliged to operate. The latter points out these distinctions very clearly.

"It must be remembered," he says, "that early in the war there was created in England a Royal Commission on wheat supplied which controlled the freights on the Atlantic. Canada was under a board of supervisors which sold on a fixed price of $2.23 Fort William.

"In August, 1919, the Wheat Board was formed. It was thought better to continue the regulation until re-establishment had been effective. The board here operated under favorable conditions because, in fear of a general strike of transport workers, dock men, and allied unions, Britain was buying most lavishly. She was paying as high, sometimes, as $4 a bushel, in order to create a reserve of foods. Chairman Stewart, I think, had at one time $90,000,000 worth of wheat on hand.

"The situation is now very different. The Federal government has power only to set up the board, but it cannot give power over transport nor over wheat products. It cannot pass legislation affecting contracts—which is a provincial power."

"The provinces (two or more) have power to select the personnel, exercise the compulsory features, but also to assume the risks."

"Moreover, a province like Manitoba which has some marketing advantages, its crop coming in a little earlier, can supply the market better, and being closer to the head of the lakes, would, under wheat Board control, have to accept certain handicaps, and may not be so inclined."

Premier Dunning, while temporarily accepting the idea of a compulsory board, has an alternative scheme which represents his deliberate views. He proposes a permanent solution of the whole wheat marketing question by making use of "the largest, finest, and most complete grain handling and trading facilities in the world." These which are controlled by the farmers' organized movement, are the big grain marketing companies, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company and the United Grain Growers, Ltd. This latter embraces Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

He points out that these two companies control 700 country elevators; the best-organized grain trade offices in Winnipeg; terminal elevator facilities and hospital elevators of greater capacity and more up-to-date than are

controlled by any other interest, and in addition an organization for exporting grain second to none in this business. It will this year export overseas at least 100,000,000 bushels of grain and possibly double that amount.

Premier Dunning's Idea

Hon. Mr. Dunning suggests the formation of a "Canadian Farmers' Export Company," by amalgamating the two export companies controlled by the Saskatchewan organization and the U.G.G., as a means whereby "the splendid facilities controlled by the organized farmers" could be used to build up an improved grain marketing system which would insure to the farmer patronizing it the world's average annual market value for his product and could be applied to other grains as well as wheat. Mr. Dunning hinted that his government would be prepared to financially assist such an organization, as they assisted one of the parent companies, the Saskatchewan Elevator Company.

The Saskatchewan premier took strong issue with some of the more ardent advocates of the board. They asked, he said, three things. One was that federally the board should be placed above the law by making it impossible for anyone to enter suit against them; that they should be given control over the selling of flour in the same manner as wheat from end to end of Canada; and that they should be given power in connection with transportation both lake and rail in order that the desires of the board with

respect to the transport of wheat should supersede those with respect to other commodities. His comment was very pointed: "I certainly would be very much surprised if a free parliament of a free people would ever consent to create an autocracy with these unchecked powers."

Although there is a strong sentiment in favor of a compulsory board, the indications are not favorable to its creation, excepting as a temporary measure.

Control of Natural Resources

There has been a long controversy between the prairie provinces and the Dominion, with respect to the control of the natural resources of the country and particularly its lands.

The claims of the three provinces are for a reversion of their natural resources, first in the form of unrestricted control of those within their present boundaries hitherto unalienated; and, secondly, to the ample recognition of their full beneficial interest, as Canadian provinces, in those already alienated by the government of the Dominion for general national purposes since the western provinces were created.

Manitoba came into Confederation in 1870; the other two provinces were not created out of the Northwest territories until many years later. The fact that title to these lands was secured from the Hudson's Bay company; that Imperial and Colonial governments were both concerned, and that the rights in the land, and the charter

rights of the company were in question, has laid the ground for much difference of opinion as to which was involved. Certainly the Dominion authorities retained control of the land, instead of the title passing, as in the other provinces of Confederation, to the provinces in question.

In the case of Manitoba it was held that there had been a purchase of Rupert's Land from the Company, and therefore, the case was not parallel with that of other provinces. The Federal authorities also insisted that they required the control of the land to ensure the building of the C.P. railway and to encourage immigration. At last $45,000 was granted annually in lieu of the land, and this was later raised in 1885 to $100,000. With the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the whole question was further ventilated. In 1905 Sir Wilfrid Laurier laid down a principle in dealing with subsidies in lieu of lands in the two provinces on the following basis:

That as the public lands in these provinces were to remain the property of the Dominion, the latter was to pay as compensation a sum based on the estimated value of 25,000,000 acres at $1.50 per acre, and on the population as determined at each quinquennial census. The sum involved on account of land being $37,500,000, and the population at that time 250,000, the payments were to be one per cent. of the land value until the population reached 400,000; one and a half per cent. thereafter

until the population reached 800,000; two per cent. until it reached 1,200,000; and thereafter three per cent.

Has There Been Injustice?

The adjustments which have been reached from time to time have never removed the irritation and sense of injustice under which the whole three provinces have rested. The fact that British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, both of which entered Confederation subsequent to Manitoba, were given their public lands; that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other statesmen had declared that the guiding principle of confederation with regard to the public domain was "that the provinces were entitled to the public lands as a source of revenue to administer the growing wants of the population in each province;" and that Ontario, in the extension of her boundaries, was given a five-mile-wide strip to Hudson's Bay while Manitoba was given no littoral at the head of the Lakes—all these have combined to give the westerners something very close to a grievance.

On the invitation of Premier King, the three provincial premiers conferred with him last year with a view to reaching a satisfactory adjustment. This conference developed the fact that not only were there differences between the federal and the western view, but that the governments of the three provinces were themselves unable to agree upon a uniform basis of

settlement. Negotiations have since then been conducted individually.

Not only do the primary circumstances differ as between provinces, but in some, most of the lands in question have been alienated, while in others the bulk of them is still intact. This tends to alter the character of each claim. Manitoba would like what is left of these impoverished resources, but she does not want them in lieu of a cash subsidy to which she is entitled for all time. Premiers Dunning and Greenfield, on the other hand, have a jealous eye for their great agricultural and coal lands. If they are entitled to what is left, why not to those already alienated? If their claim is good since they became provinces, what about the period antedating that status?

Hon. Mr. King in submitting his offer to Alberta did so alternatively. First he suggested discontinuing the subsidy and turning over the remaining lands, without further compensation. Second, he offered an accounting by an independent tribunal crediting the province with monies received by the Dominion, and debiting the province with direct or indirect outlays by the Dominion in administering these resources.

The first proposal was rejected as unfair; the second as being too costly and involved. Alberta's representatives in turn offered to waive all cash subsidies and to accept as settlement in full, compensation for 6,400,000 acres given in subsidy for the construction of railways

outside of Alberta before the granting of autonomy.

Hon. Mr. King's final offer which has also proved unacceptable, was that in the case of the three provinces the Dominion should turn over such resources as are still unalienated plus the present subsidy for three years.

There has been a continual insistence by one of the prairie premiers that the matter should be settled upon a basis of principle and not of barter. There is also a feeling that in some of the provinces the return of these resources will, for the moment, be an embarrassment, while at the same time it is generally held that they can be managed and administered much more successfully from a provincial capital than from Ottawa.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS. MENACE OF POLYLINGUALISM— ABIDING LOVE OF THE LAND—SHOULD GOVERNMENT HELP?—PARTIAL DEBT REMISSION —NEW POLITICAL DOCTRINES—WHEN BRACKEN WAS DRAFTED—BETTER THAN IT SOUNDS.

IT IS a truism that the history of modern Canada is the history of immigration. For several decades that immigration has centred chiefly on the plains, where free or cheap land has formed a lodestone not only for the American settler and for men from within the Empire, but for the perplexed residents of continental Europe. In the more or less rough and ready methods whereby we brought these people to Canada, a selective system was not matured, and as a result some rather acute problems now confront those in administrative authority in our provincial governments between the Lakes and the Rockies.

Canada's immigration policy was, in the main, based upon our experience with Nordic peoples. They were the first wave of immigration which swept overseas. Having much in common with our own ancestors, they yielded more readily to the process of assimilation than those from mid-Europe and southern Europe who have

constituted of late such a large proportion of the new settlers.

The great trek, which was an outstanding feature of Canadian affairs from ten to twenty years ago, has been checked by both economic and political conditions. One of those has now disappeared, though the after swell of the Great War continues to a degree to discourage immigration. But in the recurring cycles of economic depression and expansion, the tendency is to-day toward those better conditions under which immigration always attains its maximum.

And this factor of possible immigration is a constant one in the plans of the provinces. They have a double concern. One is to create economic conditions which will retain such settlers; the other to create educational and social conditions that will Canadianize them.

Premier Greenfield is disposed to be more impatient, under the first head, than is either of his brother premiers.

"The problem in this country," he says, "is to get it back to a basis where the farmer can make enough not only to make both ends meet, but to set aside a nest egg for the future. Once we do that we need not bother about our immigration policy. But if we bring in settlers under present conditions we are simply pumping water into a pail with a hole in the bottom: it runs out as fast as it comes in." That is what he thinks.

Premier Dunning has been an immigrant lad himself. At seventeen he homesteaded far from

urban comforts, sleeping in a rude hut he had built with his own hands. He is not dismayed by economic conditions, which he regards as temporary, and to the solution of which he is bending an inflexible purpose.

Neither is Premier Bracken. He declares that the farmers' dollar is worth only seventy cents as compared with 1912. He insists that equipment is relatively higher than before the war. "But we must keep on getting more people, and keep on improving conditions," he says.

Formerly land was high priced, now it is very low, and the immigrant, while he now comes in under some conditions that are unfavorable, catches the low drift of the land market. In the surveyed area of Manitoba alone, there are six and one half million acres of land not in farms. The average size of a Manitoba farm is 288 acres. Allowing a half section (320 acres) to a family, there is room in the surveyed portion of Manitoba for 20,000 additional families, or roughly 100,000 more people. And there remains four times as much land in the province unsurveyed. In the other provinces there is more room still.

The Peace river district will ultimately furnish homes for as many settlers as there are now in the three provinces.

Apart from what the future years may bring from Europe to these plains, there are enough there already to tax the national digestion. Manitoba is fairly typical of all, and here a

careful survey has disclosed that only 57.7 per cent. of the total population is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The remainder are grouped under several classifications or types. Of these over 14 per cent. are Slavic; 10 per cent. German; 7 per cent. French and Belgian, and 4.5 per cent. Scandinavian. Where the Saxon predominates assimilation soon occurs, but where the colony system is maintained racial customs, language and religion yield slowly to western impact. A chart of Manitoba shows in the south eastern sections great blocks of solid German settlement. The northern sections show greater areas still solidly Slavic. Density of population, in the main, distinguishes these mid-European settlements as compared with those in which English-speaking races predominate.

Menace of Polylingualism

The problem among these people is that of bringing them under the influence of Canadian education. In pursuing that policy, the authorities have been constantly confronted by the menace of polylingual instruction in the schools. Scattered settlement imposes heavy per capita obligations in each rural school district—obligations which the foreign-born show little enthusiasm in accepting. The latter, too, prefer teachers of their own nationality, but it has been found that staffing schools with nationals of the same racial group as the children is not a success. No matter how highly trained in English, the teacher is under constant temptation to revert

to mother tongue for purposes of instruction or explanation. In face of many difficulties, the authorities are adhering to their policy of producing a composite type through the agency of our English speech.

Where the racial "bloc" is not allowed to function, the receptivity of these foreign-born children to our manners and tongue is remarkable. Major David Duncan, assistant superintendent of city schools in Winnipeg, cites one striking case. In the school in question he found that out of 1,230 pupils there were more nationalities represented than there were Anglo-Saxon children. In fact there were only eighteen of the latter and there were thirty racial types. While in the primary and junior grades the facial distinctions were marked and unmistakable, yet curiously enough by the time they had reached high school entrance, the influence of play ground, study, and environment had wrought not only a mental change, but had standardized facial expression until the task of distinguishing Canadian from European was very difficult indeed.

This does not apply, of course, to the Asiatic, who has not yet penetrated in sufficient numbers east of the Rockies to make his presence the cause of any great alarm. Yet it is said that 600 Orientals cast their votes in Edmonton in the last provincial general election—a phase of electoral life which is causing sagacious men to consider how far the franchise should be ex-

tended to those incapable of identifying themselves with our problems and ideals.

Those who regard instruction in the Christian religion as basic in national life will be as much concerned in the fact that in one province a report prepared by the United Farmers, shows that 75 per cent. of the rural communities have no religious services of any description as in the fact that southern Europeans bring with them their priests and rituals. There would seem to be a mission for the evangel of the Ford car in Alberta, as there was for that of the saddlebags and the circuit rider in the early days of eastern Canada.

Abiding Love of the Land

The leaders of political thought throughout the West are showing a quick appreciation, not only of the difficulties which this foreign population presents, but of the spirit as well as the method by which these difficulties must be met. A great number of these settlers are frugal. Most of them are industrious. If they are not always truthful in speech, or honest in method, perhaps they are not always met in a spirit of fairness or of frankness. Many of them have a deep and abiding love for the land. It is noteworthy that in one of the provinces where a survey was made tenancy was more prevalent in the Anglo-Saxon communities than in those of foreign peoples.

"The Canadianization of the non-Anglo-Saxon is a problem which the province must

face and in doing so, it must not be forgotten that each of these races has some contribution to make to our civilization," says Premier Bracken. "The process of Canadianization must not be one of repression, but a real assimilation in which their contribution shall not be left out."

The same statesmanlike view is held by Premier Dunning. "We have in this province," he says, "Canadians of varied racial origin with traditions and ideals differing widely. Only by mutual tolerance and good will may we hope to mould a future Saskatchewan citizenship, preserving within itself the nobler attributes of this generation."

Should Government Help?

Behind all the plans and policies and hopes of the West there looms a spectre that will not pass. How are the debts of those who are in the financial depths to be paid? Many are so deeply involved that nothing short of a remission of some of the debt can afford real relief. Some think the governments should help. Some want to start provincial banks. Others believe that a financial plan can be evolved whereby present overhead and indebtedness already due, can be spread over a long term of years. These say that the modern farmer is like any other business man who must undertake heavy initial expense, and must have his obligations deferred somewhat on the lines adopted through bond issues for financing industrial enterprises.

Under the latter head government assistance or guarantees is generally presumed. But in the attitude of the governments there is little to justify that hope. In most of the provinces, there has already grown up a line of charges against the land—charges for taxes, seed, grain, municipal and supplementary drainage, destruction of noxious weeds, hail insurance, school tax, hospital tax, telephone, wild land tax, and cow tax—that in some instances cover a dozen priorities against land or crop.

The mortgage companies will stand no more. The banks have no enthusiasm for government benevolence. So, when the United Farmers of Alberta proposed some radical financial heresies in their annual convention, John E. Brownlee, the attorney-general, was forced to go before them and point out that as the government was the creation of the United Farmers and the policies of the latter might be regarded as government policies as well, their proposed action would greatly embarrass him when he sought a loan of some $13,000,000 the following year. Indeed there seems as little disposition to unsound finance in this government of the organized farmers as in those of the less radical provinces. The Alberta minister of agriculture has issued notice that the day of free seed from the government is over. "There is no such thing as easy money," he declares. "It is a misnomer to say that the government can pay for anything; it is the state that pays."

The Premier of Alberta holds the money lender and the money borrower equally responsible, and the adjustment, he insists, must be a matter of mutual arrangement between them. This is his attitude:

"The West is suffering to-day from over-expansion, in both rural and city districts. In the good years of 1915-1916 credits were too free. Banks were offering money freely to farmers, and they took it, largely in the interest of expansion for war purposes. We now have to pay the bills for this over-expansion and we've got to pay it in the hardest times the farmer ever struck.

"Farmers in those areas where there has been no crop for from three to five years are in bad shape. Many are still solvent, but they cannot meet their immediate liabilities. The beginning of the way out is for banks and mortgage companies to realize that they loaned too freely, and that they have got to absorb a percentage of the loss.

"It seems to me that it should be possible for the principal mortgage companies, implement companies, banks, and other creditors to get together with the debtors and provide for repayment on an amortization plan. It looks like an extreme step, but I believe the creditors will collect more in that way than they will by a system of recourse.

"This cannot be done by government assistance. It must be by agreement between debtor and creditor. It will help materially in holding

people on the land, putting confidence in them, and by removing the immediate liability from their minds, help to re-establish their morale."

Partial Debt Remission

Under Mr. Greenfield's government, however, a relief act has been passed by which the government commissioner must be notified before foreclosure proceedings are started. A judge then appraises assets and liabilities and decides what the farmer can pay, and still maintain himself. In Saskatchewan a somewhat similar arrangement exists, though it has not the moratorium features of the Alberta law. Here again the authorities are urging upon creditor organizations a partial remission of debt in those cases where the settler is disposed to abandon his homestead. Other cases were made the subject of a conference between the Mortgage Loan Association and the government.

It was found that the bumper crop in Saskatchewan last year (240,480,000 bushels) valued at $200,000,000 was not sufficient to pay the accumulated debts of six lean years. The creditors accepted the situation and agreed to abide by the arrangement recommended by the government commissioners as if they had the force of law. During the last season 4,300 cases were dealt with under this arrangement involving debts aggregating $16,000,000. In a very small percentage of cases was the situation found incapable of adjustment.

The government of Saskatchewan also operates a system of farm loans to ease excessive burdens and to assist farmers to make improvements when they are unable to do so without raising a loan on the security of the land. Since the Farm Loan board started operations in 1917, it has loaned in this way nearly $9,000,000, involving more than 1,500 farmers. The loan is made for a period of thirty years on the amortization plan. On $1,000 the annual payment of principal and interest is $76.58. The government finds its funds, not through savings banks as is done in some other countries, but by the sale of Greater Production Farm loan bonds, bearing five per cent. This money is re-loaned at six and one half per cent. thus covering handling charges. These bonds are in denominations as low as $20 with interest payable every six months. They are thirty year bonds, but are redeemable by the holder on three months' notice to the Treasury.

Nearly $2,500,000 worth of these were taken up in 1921. The effect of this plan has been to hold ordinary mortgage rates down to a reasonable basis, and to keep in the province large sums in interest earnings which would otherwise go elsewhere.

In Manitoba, the savings bank systems of accumulating monies for such purposes has been adopted. This plan is better adapted to a province with a large industrial centre, such as Winnipeg, where the pay roll of the manu-

factories forms a very attractive field for the operations of a savings bank.

New Political Doctrines

As the western provinces opened to Canada a new agricultural epoch, they are furnishing also a new chapter in the political development of the Dominion. The soil was fruitful for such a development. It had no old traditions. It had new problems. From the South it had drawn many of a radical political school. From Europe came thousands with no sentimental attachments to existing parties. Even the eastern Canadians who went west severed their old associations. The character of the country gave it common needs and common aims. The diversity of interest which the more complex life of eastern Canada provided was not present. And with the pressing problems of the last ten or fifteen years there has come a drift toward political action, as a sequel to the co-operative movement for economic reform.

It is this phase of western life which to-day first challenges the interest of the student. It is the phase which occasions most comment in other parts of the Dominion. It cannot be understood if it is not considered in the light of the other problems which have been treated in these articles.

The movement assumed definite and comprehensive form in the years toward the end of the war, when more than one group in Canada was seeking a new national policy. An ambitious

movement, headed by men of outstanding ability, had launched something with such a motive, in the East. It was rather distrusted by the farmers, who scented high tariff, and protection. Their answer was the Canadian Council of Agriculture with its broad basis of free trade. It was intended to embrace the four central provinces. But it met with general acceptance from the farming class throughout the Dominion. It is noteworthy that Alberta, which of late has gone farther than all the other provinces, for a time remained out of the new movement. And the man who kept them out was one who later was to become the apostle of political action, and of group government, H. W. Wood.

The history of the Progressive part at Ottawa since that time is current history. It reached its maximum power under Hon. T. A. Crerar, who some months ago resigned the leadership, Mr. Crerar is described by a newspaper friend as "simply a Geo. Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, Cartwright Grit." There is much to justify the suspicion that he sees nothing incongruous in an ultimate alliance of the Progressive with the Liberal party. Many of his followers feel the same way. But their constituents keep a firm rein upon them and permit as little departure as they can avoid from the trail upon which the party has embarked.

Provincially the movement has some interesting variations. In Alberta it has attained power as a class conscious group. In Saskatchewan, where the farmers' movement ori-

ginated, it has attained less political power than in either of the other provinces. The Manitoba situation lies somewhere between that of its two neighbors.

When Bracken Was Drafted

In the last-mentioned province it ran a successful, but leaderless, campaign, assumed power and drafted the head of the agricultural college, Mr. Bracken, to lead it. He did so with great reluctance. Report says that in the happy little domestic group of which he is the head, there were many tears shed on the night that he renounced the congenial and quiet atmosphere of the college halls for the dust of political conflict. Though he heads a government elected by farmers, Premier Bracken takes broad ground as first Minister. "I am not a farmer representative," he will say. "We look on Manitoba as a whole. Of my ministry of six, three are from the city. We superseded the Norris government, which was nearly all farmers. We can never cure our economic ills at Winnipeg. If these are to be remedied by politics, it must be at Ottawa." His idea of government functions, provincially, is to put the productive side of agriculture on a better basis.

There is a story that after his third caucus, and after having heard some of the more radical of his supporters insist on certain extreme measures, the premier quietly suggested that these things might wait until the new government was secure in the saddle and that if his

party were not disposed to use that measure of common sense, he would resign forthwith. His action at once stilled the voices of discontent, because it is well known that Mr. Bracken's presence in politics is far removed from any element of ambition.

It must be admitted that there is little connected with the administration of affairs in Alberta to suggest that the government in power owes its life to the class conscious movement. It is extremely interesting to see the contrast between the doctrine of the Progressives as enunciated at their annual convention, and its practical working out in the government pile at Edmonton. It has been the custom for the U.F.A. convention to present its annual findings and recommendations to the government of the day. This year that government was one of its own political complexion. But it showed little less receptiveness than former administrations.

Better Than it Sounds

There is already evidence of that sobering sense of responsibility which is inseparable from government. Many members of the Legislature, including the premier, have given no pledge of their resignation on demand to a committee of their constituents, and were not asked for it. Each constituency has complete autonomy within itself. The constituency organization is composed of the U.F.A. locals within its boundaries. In each constituency an

annual convention is held at which the member gives an account of his stewardship, besides visiting as many locals as possible during the year. These locals are the primary unit of government. They subscribe the election expenses of their candidate. One member paid $10.00 and another $100.00 for his election. It cost the Attorney-General $25.00.

Progressive Government in Alberta resembles Wagner's music, of which Joe Jefferson declared that it was much better than it sounded.

Even Hon. Mrs. Parmly, (a grand niece of Capt. Marryat) who is a Minister in the Alberta government, warned her electors that she reserved the right after taking office, to change her mind, as every woman should. She is a vindication of women in politics—reserved of speech, effective in debate, womanly in deportment, and sane and sage in counsel. "I would take her judgment on any subject as quickly as that of any member of my government," says the premier.

One wonders, (even Hon. Mrs. Parmly admits that she does) what form farmer government will ultimately assume. H. W. Wood, of Calgary, its protagonist, is a man of conspicuous ability with a bit of the mystic in his make up. He is a student of the Apocalypse, and sees in the new heaven and the new earth there depicted, what he wants accomplished in Alberta. His politics are that of an evangel. His followers have the fervor of fanatics. He addresses them in leaflets issued regularly from Calgary, telling

what he thinks. The government issues bulletins telling what it does. Between them there is much to talk about in the locals.

"The whole foundation of the farmer movement in Alberta," says the premier, "is to build up a responsible citizenship. An intelligent electorate is the first step in responsible government. I believe the farmers are the best posted class in Alberta. Business men have been too indifferent. Farmers have been too ignorant. If they hadn't been, governments would never have got away with what they have got away with in the past."

Dunning, a Youthful Premier

While Mr. Wood has been working out his theories in Alberta, and is now facing their final test, an entirely different process has been going on in Saskatchewan. Here a young Englishman, still on the sunny side of forty, who was identified with the farmer movement before Mr. Wood came up from Missouri to Canada, is carrying on government on the old and accepted lines. He is a Gladstonian Liberal. He is a firm believer in British constitutional practice, with parliamentary responsibility. And he sees nothing incompatible between that position and his vigorous support of the farmer economic movement. Before he was twenty he was a boy statesman in the farmer conventions. As a mere youth he ran their big elevator system. He attends their convention every year as the representative of his little local. They always

ask him to speak, and they give him a good "hand," for he is their product, and they are secretly proud of him. But he talks plainly to them.

"I don't think Mr. Dunning cares what we think," commented a delegate after a noisy altercation,

"I care a lot what you think, but not what you yell," was the retort.

At their last convention he told them he would not appeal to them to refrain from recommending any form of legislation, as an Albertan minister had done. They were told they could adopt what they liked. The government would assume responsibility for its own acts only.

"Saskatchewan is the birthplace of the farmer movement," he says. "Its educational and economic features originated here in 1892, in the Territorial Grain Growers Association before the province was created. It followed the Patron of Industry movement and Motherwell was the first president.

"But it was founded on a non-political basis. It was open to all regardless of race, religion, or political belief. This is the source of its power. Through its educating and debating facilities, it has fitted many men for municipal and political life. My own opportunities for public service came through it. Its future, I regard as a purely economic and educational force. In this province the farmer movement represents advanced Liberalism and the tendency of the majority is against making it a class or political

organization. In this respect it differs from both Ontario and Alberta. The membership, even, is not restricted to farmers. Any local may decide its own basis of membership, and may admit or decline to admit non-farmers.

"I strongly object to setting up a political test in an organization that is non-political."

Hon. Mr. Dunning's view is interesting because it is likely to be challenged. Forces are constantly at work which may project the farmers of his province into such a political relationship as exists in other provinces. In this connection it may be mentioned that the membership of all three farmer organizations has declined materially of late, though this is usually attributed to hard times. The U.F.M. numbers 15,701; the U.F.A. 18,820; and the S.G.G.A. 16,508. These totals appear small compared to the total rural population in the three provinces of 1,250,000.

A public man of more than ordinary shrewdness declares that political disappointment, and the necessity for maintaining a grievance, lies behind much pessimistic talk on the plains. He says that it is noticeable that breeders' unions, agricultural and allied societies, are much more cheerful than those of political or semi-political parties among farmers.

Such is the situation on the prairies. It will undergo many changes as prosperity returns, and immigration increases. The day may not be far distant when the most of the Canadian people will live west of the head of the Great

Lakes. Ere that period arrives doubtless "time and the ocean, and some favoring star" will have contributed to the solution of many of the difficulties which at present seem so formidable. But the greatest contributors to that happy outcome will be the men and women of these plains who to-day are facing some perplexing issues with the confident courage which has made of the race the greatest colonizers of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF THE ATLANTIC. MANY MINGLED STOCKS—SENSIBLE AND SERIOUS—FARMER AND SEAMAN—PASSING OF THE CLIPPERS—EX-PREMIER BELL'S VIEW—FREIGHT RATE BURDENS— PEARSON'S VIEWS—DIFFERENTIAL DISADVANTAGES.

THE speech of the Canadian people reflects, here and there, conditions which preceded Confederation. The westerner talks of having been "down east" when he has been no further in that direction that Montreal or Toronto; the easterner has been "to the west" when his train has not brought him within sight of the Rocky Mountains.

Similarly the Haligonian still tells of going to "Upper Canada" though for more than half a century there has been no such geographical entity; and even of having been "up to Canada" when his own family has been Canadian for perhaps two generations. Though unconscious of it, the Bluenose is as tenacious of his national identity as is the Scot.

The same carelessness in national definitions leads all Canadians to persist in limiting the old title of the Maritime Provinces to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The early seventies brought into the Dominion a

province of great area on the littoral of the Pacific, with a sea-board quite comparable to that of its sisters on the Atlantic. Yet so strong is the power of a long held habit that one dare not include British Columbia among the Maritime provinces without being misunderstood. Hence, for the purposes of these articles, the term Maritimes will be applied only to those provinces of the Dominion which border the Atlantic ocean.

And because they have the same climatic conditions, boast similar resources, share the same traditions and history, have been peopled by the same races, and are commonly concerned in the same problems, they can, as in the case of the prairie provinces, be better studied as a group, than individually.

It is interesting to note that the tide of travel and settlement, which the maritimes complain of as passing them by, showed the same disposition from the earliest days. For it was on Cape Breton that Cabot first landed, long before Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, and Champlain wintered at St. Croix a year or two before he founded Quebec. Then, as now, it was the island of Orleans, and not of Cape Breton that held the greatest appeal, and it was increasingly to the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and not to the tides of the Bay of Fundy that the early explorers turned their keels. The fact is worth noting, in passing, because it indicates a tendency at an early period, which the development of trade

routes, and the improvement of transport facilities has served only to emphasize, and which forms an important factor in the difficulties now engaging the attention of the residents of the territory in question.

Many Mingled Stocks

These Atlantic provinces furnish a historical background as ancient, and as interesting, as that of Quebec. The Acadian settlers, said to be derived almost exclusively from less than one hundred families, shared with their French compatriots of Quebec those habits of industry and frugality associated with the race. But they lacked the pioneering qualities and love of adventure with which the *coureurs de bois* have enlivened the record of early Canadian life. The tidal meadows at the head of the Bay of Fundy gave to many of them perennial harvest, and after their expulsion from the shores of the Basin of Minas they found fertile fields to till in the Isle de St. Jean of Champlain, later to be known as Prince Edward Island. Their attachment to the soil has enabled them to survive all the recurring rules of Saxon and Gaul, to furnish a resurgence of their race throughout northern New Brunswick, and to give to that province a direct descendant in premier Veniot of one of those whom Governor Lawrence expelled from the Land of Evangeline.

With this early stock have been mingled several other stout strains. New Englanders early drifted northward to both New Brunswick

and Nova Scotia. In the middle of the eighteenth century 2,500 English colonists came to Halifax. Lord Selkirk landed in Prince Edward Island the big body of Scotch settlers whose names still predominate there. Later, United Empire Loyalists poured into the valley of the St. John, and to other parts of the two mainland provinces, Scotch Catholics went into Antigonish, Scotch Presbyterians into Pictou. Ireland sent a liberal quota. Until the cession in 1763, all the events down by the sea were controlled and colored by Quebec authority. From that date, if the reader ignore a considerable period of somewhat indeterminate authority involving Cape Breton, the three provinces have been working out their destiny under British rule, and during more than a century, in most instances, under responsible government.

In 1784 they were divided into three provinces, and with one or two variations they have so continued to the present.

The problems of that day have disappeared with the crumbling forts and the obsolete guns which are all that now recall its feuds and fights. Time has wiped out all the old hatreds. The descendants of Briton and Gascon no longer contend at the dictation of overseas kings. They freely co-operate on behalf of a land to which both races are devoted.

At Grand Pré a few months since descendants of the two races dedicated a new chapel on the site of the old St. Charles Church, which was the tragic centre of the last scenes in the

expulsion of the Acadians 167 years ago. There an Acadian bishop celebrated the Mass, and surrounded by his co-religionists, sang the Acadian national hymn. Shades of La Tour and of Lawrence might have viewed with common satisfaction the peaceful and satisfactory issue of events which they ineffectually sought, with bloody hands, to guide. For the dedication took place in a highly cultivated valley in a district as strongly Saxon as the Englishman might have desired, while the presence in Canada, reported that day, of nearly half a million Acadians (with another 240,000 in Louisiana) might well have satisfied the racial ambitions of the defender of Port Royal. Two French speaking provincial ministers were present. One declared that all that Acadians asked to-day was to be considered loyal British subjects. The other, (shortly afterwards to become the First Minister of his province) pleaded only that the two races might understand one another. Not more than a mile away, and in plain view from the scene of the ceremony stood the birthplace of one, who but a few months previously had relinquished the greatest gift in the power of Canadians to bestow, that of Prime Minister of the Dominion.

The racial differences which once distressed this whole territory may fairly be said to be composed. The original elements were all virile, and the composite stock of descendants is of the same calibre. Their enmities were largely imported, or hereditary; the truce in the old

World has been gladly followed by a partnership in the New. In all that makes for comfort few portions of the continent are as attractive as the Atlantic provinces. Abundance of fuel, a soil of great fertility, proximity to fishing grounds of great wealth, educational facilities freely available—all these make for content, if not for wealth. Yet to-day there is a widespread sentiment of dissatisfaction, sullen, and resentful, which occasionally finds expression (and when it does, wide newspaper publicity) in a declaration for secession.

This discontent merits close attention, because it is not confined to one political party, or to one province. It is not without significance that recently it was revived in the Nova Scotia legislature through the political party which carried that province into Confederation, and which has paid for it by over forty years of continuous exile from the Treasury benches. But it would be as unwise to accept the suggested withdrawal of the provinces from the Dominion as the serious alternative of the thinking people on the Atlantic seaboard as, it would be dangerous to ignore the causes which lie behind the suggestion. There is a deep sense of grievance among the maritime people, but it is tempered by the good sense which has always marked their attitude to national problems. "We recognize that you cannot unscramble eggs," declared a prominent public man at Ottawa, whose home is by the Atlantic. "We also recognize that in any attempt to sever

our Dominion relationships, we must be prepared to assume our fair share of the national debt. And at the present time such an undertaking would bankrupt our province."

It is not unusual to recall Mr. Fielding's appeal to the country on the secession issue in 1886, and his triumphant return as vindicating the arguments of the secessionists. Hon. Mr. Fielding himself, however, points out that the following year that decision was practically reversed in the Federal elections, thus robbing the first of much of its importance. A mandate to be effective, must, he points out, be continuous.

The suggestion is not that Confederation be abandoned, but that its terms be revised. Some declare that the spirit of that union has not been kept, but this is not common. The more usual attitude is that the expectations and assurances which surrounded the entry of these provinces into the Dominion have not been realized and that to continue under such unsatisfactory conditions is only to invite serious trouble.

"Let us admit for the sake of argument," says ex-premier Foster of New Brunswick, "that all the conditions have been kept. Let us impute bad faith to nobody. The fact remains that a certain partnership was entered into fifty years ago, which fails to satisfactorily define our relationships to-day. In other words we have outgrown the circumstances we were organized to meet. Must we continue in-

definitely with some members of the firm smarting under a sense of injustice? Isn't it the sensible thing for the partners to sit down, and adjust any difficulties there may be?"

Sensible and Serious

This is the spirit which is met in Halifax, Fredericton, and Charlottetown. The statesmen of these provinces are sensible, but they are serious. Moreover they have behind them a body of electors restlessly conscious of something irksome in the present situation, and pressing their representatives for redress. And as political action is largely a matter of pressure, the public men of these provinces cannot disregard, even were they so disposed, the clamor of popular protest.

What are the grievances in question?

To appreciate them it is necessary to consider the conditions in the maritimes prior to Confederation, and the circumstances under which these provinces came into the Federal group.

One is not allowed to forget, as he travels about the country that two of the three provinces came into the union very reluctantly. In New Brunswick the great authority of Tilley finally resulted in a triumphant return of pro-Confederation candidates. But in Prince Edward Island a resolution of the legislature that the terms be adopted was over-whelmingly defeated, and it was a year or two more before the provin-

cial parliament would authorize negotiations for a union upon terms that were "just and reasonable." In Nova Scotia there was never popular assent to the movement and it only required the eloquence of Howe and the great influence he exerted throughout the country, to consolidate the sentiment into an over-whelming force which swept out of power the party which consummated the union, and left only one representative—its militant protagonist, Dr. Tupper—with a seat in the next house.

It so happened that the ten years preceding Confederation were the golden years in the life of the country. It was probably more populous then, as well as more prosperous, than it has been in any period since that time. A reciprocity treaty with the United States gave a rich market for potatoes, and other farm produce, in the New England states. Locally built vessels, manned by hardy sons of the provinces, hauled these products to other parts at low cost. When the Civil War broke out a most lucrative trade offered in blockade running, which had far more attractions than terrors to the expert seamen of St. John, Halifax, and the fishing towns scattered along the south-eastern shores. Halifax has always thriven in war time. When cotton could be bought in the southern ports for twelve cents a pound, and marketed in England for eighty-four cents, and when a cargo of fish could be disposed of for gold at long prices in Confederate ports, a period

of hectic prosperity was inevitable in harbors such as those mentioned.

Farmer and Seaman

There were other, and more normal trade openings of which the thrifty Bluenose was not slow to avail himself. Like his Viking ancestor he was part farmer, part seaman, and to these avocations he often added that of local trader as well. It was not uncommon for a storekeeper to build his own vessel, to accumulate a cargo of fish, or potatoes at his local store, and later to sail with a crew in which his own sons were seamen for the West Indies. Thence he brought back a cargo of rum and molasses, or possibly sold his vessel as well as his load, and returned to Nova Scotia to repeat the same profitable performance. Sometimes he pushed on down the South American coast, even as far as Rio, and found there among a Catholic people a favorable market for his fish.

These conditions promoted prosperity. The shipyards were busy; young men found attractive employment in sailing home built vessels to the ports of the world; the native population was retained at home; and conditions became so prosperous that it is little wonder that the people hesitated to change their lot, or repine to-day, because they did.

Prior to Confederation, Nova Scotia with a low tariff of approximately ten per cent., collected upwards of half a million dollars in revenue which was ample to take care of the

public services at that time. The manufactured articles brought back from New England were entered under the low tariff mentioned to the added satisfaction and profit of the traders.

Circumstances therefore combined, prior to the union, to produce most favorable conditions. Confederation violently altered some of these, to the detriment of the provinces concerned, and concurrently a number of changes took place in the carrying and other trades which contributed to produce conditions that were far from satisfactory. It is perhaps natural that discontent should find the explanation, not alone for some, but for all the ills that affect the land in the change in the political status which one province at least, had enjoyed for over a hundred years.

Passing of the Clippers

Among the causes which contributed to change conditions was the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. Perhaps a more important one was the gradual passing of the wooden ship, which had been built in such numbers in Canadian Atlantic ports, and which sailed the Seven Seas. St. John was once the fourth tonnage port of the world. Eleven hundred shipwrights of her yards marched in one procession. This trade began to decline in the early seventies and before the century closed the white-winged clippers which were the pride of the Bluenoses of that generation were driven from the seas. The homely tramp steamer

replaced them, and with her ample cargo space seized much of the trade to the West Indies, the buying power of which had, in turn, been reduced by the advent of beet sugar, to the exclusion of cane.

The loss of the New England markets, so long enjoyed by the maritime provinces, was one of the factors for which the fathers of Confederation recognized that some compensation should be provided. A large and growing community in upper and lower Canada seemed to afford the answer, provided proper transportation facilities could be arranged. Out of that situation grew the Inter-colonial railway, which was to provide the necessary link between the Maritimes and the rest of Canada.

It is around the undertakings, specific, and implied, connected with the building of this railway that part of the present dispute centres. There is no denial that the road was built, not only to Riviere du Loup as first arranged, but was extended first to Point Levis, and later by the purchase of the Drummond county line into Montreal. But down-easters insist that, as the railway was built manifestly as a link between the provinces, and was carried by a round-about route for strategic reasons, that it should never be included among those roads of the national system which are expected to operate on a successful commercial basis.

Ex-Premier Bell's View

Ex-Premier Bell, of Prince Edward Island, sets the situation out like a proposition in Euclid:

"We were unwilling to join the Dominion," he says, "and we were urged to come in. We did so, finally, with great reluctance, and misgivings.

"We already had a good trade with New England.

"To get us to come in it was specified that we would have such advantages in transportation as would enable us to continue, and to expand our trade with Canada, as we had with the United States.

"It followed that we were enabled to trade with Montreal and Toronto, and that they were to become our markets for the future, instead of Boston and Portland.

"That was the most essential fact of the Union—that its extremities be bound to its heart—that we should be able to send our potatoes and oats to central Canada, New Brunswick its lumber, and Nova Scotia its coal.

"That understanding, expressed in the speeches of Brown and Macdonald, we regard as binding.

"It is true the Intercolonial railway was built; it is not true that we have thereby been enabled to reach our market. Whatever arrangement is made with regard to freight rates should take cognizance of that and enable us to reach markets in the heart of the Dominion."

It will be seen that the point of ex-Premier Bell's argument is that the spirit of the union was that the Intercolonial was to be operated in such a manner as to bring the products of the

Atlantic provinces to the interior Canadian markets regardless of whether or not this could be done on a basis that was commercially profitable to the railway.

Mr. R. B. Hanson, Federal member York-Sunbury, speaking as a New Brunswicker, takes the same attitude. "The arrangement was," he declares, "that the line should be finished and operated at cost, and without reference to the interest on the capital expenditure." As proof of the logic of that position, he points out that New Brunswick wanted the road to follow the valley of the St. John river, but that this plan was not entertained and the longer and more circuitous route via the Gaspé peninsula, with its sparse freight offerings, adopted instead, on grounds of Imperial policy.

Ex-premier George H. Murray of Nova Scotia also insists that this understanding was clear. In Nova Scotia, he points out, the sentiment against confederation was so strong as to be nearly unanimous, and nothing but Sir Chas. Tupper's masterful pushing of it through the legislature before the people could pronounce upon it made the proposal possible. "The big bid," he says, "was the building of the Intercolonial," and all that it implied in the way of access to substitute markets in central Canada. He, too, claims that when the excessive mileage of the present route was adopted in the face of the protests of those who foresaw the permanent handicap it would impose in the form of operating charges, it was a clear admis-

sion that a commercial basis of operation was to be ignored.

Freight Rate Burdens

A cursory reading of such of the Confederation debates as are still preserved in the library of the House of Commons seems to disclose no precise undertaking of the kind suggested. It may well be that delegates on both sides anticipated a development which did not follow, and were sincere in their belief that in the course of time the evil of insufficient freights would cure itself. The strongest argument, evidently, is the implication involved in selecting the present route.

Up to the period of the war I.C.R. rates were low. The war and the McAdoo award forced them up to a basis formerly unequalled in the Atlantic provinces, but, as one shipper expressed it, they were able to carry on, even with this heavier impost, because of the longer prices which the war insured. With the close of the war, and the reaction which followed, they found themselves shut out of the central Canadian markets by a railway rate which they could not pay, and out of the U.S. market by the Fordney tariff which made shipping to that country practically prohibitive.

There are local inequalities, also, induced by the existence of two gauges on the Island railways, and the lack of a commodity rate on agricultural products there such as obtains on coal, iron, gypsum, plaster, lime, slag, lumber,

and other bulk products on the Mainland. These are now forming the subject of strong representation to the management of the national railway system and the Board of railway commissioners, with good prospects of their being adjusted.

"We must have the old differentials established," said a New Brunswick public man. "For western freights we want the Maritimes put on a common basis with Montreal. For local traffic we want the I. C. R. operated as a means of communication and trade with the upper provinces, and on rates which take no cognizance of the initial cost of the road."

Pearson's Views

A well-known lawyer, publicist, and journalist of Halifax, G. Fred Pearson, clearly points out why the present freight rates bear unduly upon the maritimes, and less heavily upon central Canada. He says:

"Confederation brought Nova Scotia under a tariff which cut off her trade connections and made her dependent upon manufactured articles produced in central Canada, and made under a high tariff, and hauled a long distance over a single track railway.

"In exchange for these articles Nova Scotia had to offer fish in a market which was not fish consuming, lumber in a market that produces lumber, and in recent years, coal in

the Montreal market in competition with American coal.

"These articles are low in value in dollars but heavy and bulky to transport and consequently have to bear heavy freight charges.

"The result has been the strangulation of our home industries under competiton from central Canada, where manufactured articles are comparatively valuable by weight and consequently can bear the freight charges.

"Meanwhile our pre-confederation markets have been closed to us by our own tariff wall.

"The terms of confederation imposed on these provinces the duty of caring for the expensive public services of education, roads, health, and other institutions, while depriving them of their best income producing sources like customs, inland revenue, and in effect, income tax."

While there is complaint that the absorption of the I. C. R. in the national system has resulted in higher, and oppressive rates, there is another way in which it is claimed that the change has operated to the disadvantage of the provinces in question. In the opinion of Hon. Mr. Cameron, the provincial scretary of Nova Scotia, who was at the moment also the acting premier in the absence of the First Minister, the consolidation has had a discouraging effect upon maritime interests and especially upon those of Nova Scotia. He claims that while the smaller system had to exploit the territory through which it passed,

and develop it because there it secured the bulk of the business which maintained it, the exploitation now takes place in connection with the larger system, and in consequence the smaller interests of Nova Scotia are either overlooked or overshadowed. As an example he cites the lower relative rate for apples on the long haul from the west to Montreal and Toronto, as compared with the higher rate on the same commodity from Halifax to Montreal and this, it is claimed, applies generally on all freight rates.

Differential Disadvantages

This feeling was partially responsible for the strong representations recently made to the national railway executives that the Atlantic division run from Halifax to Montreal. The far easterners are anxious that unrouted freight go to Halifax and not be diverted to Portland Maine which they fear would be the case if Montreal were linked up with the central division.

The disadvantage under which Halifax labors by reason of a differential of one cent a hundredweight as compared with Portland is another sore point, as it is believed that it diverts millions of bushels of wheat to the latter port. Better grain facilities at Halifax are asked for, so that ships can complete cargoes there. Nova Scotians ask that, as fifteen millions of dollars have been spent on terminals, two millions more be spent in order to make them profitable.

By measures such as these, the people of the far eastern provinces feel that St. John and Halifax can be made the long wharf of Canada, and they complain that, though other provinces have had their boundaries enlarged, or have received enormous advantages in the form of land grants, they have failed to reciprocate by using these Atlantic ports for their import and export trade. They ask that the advantage which Halifax, for instance, enjoys of two days over New York and one and a half days over Portland in the run to Liverpool, should be utilized to get freights at least as favorable as from these points, with Europe. The principle, that British goods, to take advantage of the Canadian preference, should be imported through Canadian ports, is one for which these provinces have long vigorously contended.

CHAPTER V.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF THE ATLANTIC. WAS THE DOMINION RIGHT?—STILL FURTHER CLAIMS—WILL THERE BE OPPRESSION?—A PRAIRIE LANDS' ANOMALY—EXPORTERS OF BRAINS—SENTIMENTAL RECIPROCITY—THE LURE OF YOUTH.

STRONGLY as do the provinces by the sea feel their exclusion from the central Canadian markets, they are equally pronounced in their protests with respect to federal policy in regard to the lands and provinces of the middle West. This they have elaborated in a formal case which has formed the subject of many debates in the local legislatures and which has been worked up by James C. Tory, of the Nova Scotia body, into a formidable brief.

In this, demand is made for reparations to the Atlantic coast provinces on account of the alienation of western lands. The claim is that in 1870, by imperial order-in-council, the lands of the Hudson's Bay Co. in the Northwest became vested in the Dominion of Canada. The atlantic provinces claim an interest in those lands. They further claim that they had a right to be consulted with regard to their disposition, even though they might have no

objection to the policy contemplated. Inasmuch as the action taken was federal, and all the provinces had a voice in federal affairs, the suggestion that any provinces should have been consulted, as such, may not be valid. The facts seem to be that, at the time of the action complained of, the representatives of the maritime provinces were not so alert to their own rights as they afterwards became.

The first complaint arises out of the setting aside of school lands in the Northwest. Under the Dominion Lands' Act passed in 1872, by which provision was made for the administrations of all these lands which had come into possession of the federal government, certain generous provisions were made for the purposes of education on the prairies. It was provided that in both Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (the other two prairie provinces having not as yet been established) two sections in every township should be set apart as an endowment for educational purposes, the sums realized from their sale from time to time funded, and the interest, less cost of management, paid annually to the provincial or territorial government concerned for the support of its public schools.

Was the Dominion Right?

According to a return made to the House of Commons in 1919, more than 42,000,000 acres have been set aside under the act and, up to March, 1918, more than $7,000,000

had been paid by the federal government to the three provinces on that account, as interest. There stood to the credit of the three provinces at that time on account of these lands nearly $17,000,000 while the value of unsold lands was close to $175,000,000.

The claim of the Maritimes is that the Dominion had no warrant to set aside this huge endowment for the benefit of one section of the Dominion—a section which at the time this return was made had less than twenty-five per cent. of the population of the Dominion. They point to the United States, where the federal power administered the huge areas which came into its possession for the benefit of all the states and not for the new ones only.

The premier of Prince Edward Island claims, on behalf of the Maritimes, the right "to alter, oppose, or modify" that policy. It imposed, in his judgment, a double hardship on his and neighbour provinces. First, it appropriated a big acreage in which they were interested, and diverted it to the three prairie provinces. Second, by unduly endowing the western provinces at the expense of the eastern ones, it enabled the former to increase salaries west of the Great Lakes to such a degree as to attract thither the very cream of the teaching profession.

The claim made on behalf of the three lower provinces is that there be an equalization, whereby they be credited with an amount equal to the cash already paid and the amount

now standing to the credit of the West, the interest of which should be paid them by the central government, for educational purposes. Based on relative populations, this would give the Maritimes $853,000 in annual interest, $17,000,000 in credits, and $125,000,000 in contingent credits for unsold lands. But the claim does not stop there.

Still Further Claims

Great areas were used in setting up the new provinces. Others were employed in subsidizing railways. But enormous tracts of country were alienated in enlarging the boundaries of provinces already territorially rich in comparison with the three under consideration. Quebec, for instance, which started in Confederation with an area of 123,875,200 acres, has had added to her ample limits a tract as large as British Columbia, making a total of 452,-573,561 acres—about a fifth of Canada. Territorially, to use the language of David Harum, "them as has, gits."

Ontario, rich and extensive, was endowed only a little less liberally. With an original area of 144,961,636 acres, she has by repeated visits to the Federal cupboard swollen her holdings until she has reached the respectable figure of 260,657,636 acres. The true Maritimes, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, have paid, dollar for dollar, per capita, with the

residents of the fortunate provinces mentioned, in providing the dower.

Exploration and development have shown that much of the territory in question, far from being barren and valueless, as was contended when the annexation took place, is rich in minerals, in timber, in agricultural lands, in fisheries, in pulp, and in water power, which is the key to the industrial development of the future. The pretence that it was of little or of no value, and hence that it was in the interests of the Dominion to get rid of it and thus escape the expense of administration, is pretty well exploded.

And here Premier Bell again brings down his geometrical formula:

"These lands were handed over to the provinces in question because they were contiguous.

"Had the Maritimes been contiguous to these lands they would have had their share.

"Not being contiguous we were debarred from that privilege.

"That is no reason why we should not have an interest.

"We therefore set up our claim for an undivided share of the lands given to Ontario, Quebec and the prairie provinces to enlarge their areas."

Will There be Oppression

It is not the value of the lands alone which gives concern to the Atlantic provinces. Already they are confronted through a relative loss of population with a shrinkage in the number

of their representatives in the House of Commons. This is a very tender matter with them, and already it is held against the fathers of Confederation that they should have anticipated the situation which has now developed and have "pegged" the minimum number of members which each of the coastwise provinces would permanently retain. The enlargment of boundaries of provinces, already greatly disproportionate to those now being considered, renders that danger still more acute. J. C. Tory, whose figures are quoted in the foregoing paragraphs, sets down this danger as follows:

"In view of the tremendous increase in land values and the tremendous development of minerals in northern Ontario and in other sections of that province, these lands have added great material wealth to those provinces in the soil, in the forest, and in the possibility of population coming to them. This is the most crucial point because it gives them a weight of influence and control in the affairs of the Dominion, which pushes us aside, diminishes our ratio of population and, consequently, our representation, until we finally reach a state of insignificance which is serious to be comtemplated, all growing out of the fact that, being small, we are not able to withstand the pressure brought against us in federal affairs. The testimony of history is that the strong invariably oppress the weak."

It is a sense of this preponderance, first of the older provinces, and more recently in the

solidarity of the western groups, which lends argument to the agitation, not for secession, but for such a maritime union as was occupying the attention of the little group which sat in the chamber in the old buildings at Charlottetown in 1864 when the missionaries of Confederation swept in upon them and brought them the larger vision of a "dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth."

The Maritimes think they see in the co-operation of the mid-west provinces when they seek some concessions of common value and desirability, a hint of how, only, smaller provinces can get their rights. And the persistence of these prairie provinces in seeking a return of their natural resources, notwithstanding the substantial concessions given them in lieu thereof, and the promises already made by politicians on both sides that this ultimately will be done, constitutes another major grievance.

A Prairie Lands Anomaly

In the original provinces the lands and minerals in the possession of the colonies when they entered the Dominion, were handed over to them. When the western provinces were set up these resources were retained by the Dominion which, besides allocating to them the liberal school lands already mentioned, granted them a special subsidy "in lieu of lands" (as already mentioned in the articles of this

series relating to the three prairie provinces). The demand for a return of these lands, in spite of the special subsidy given as an equivalent, has been persistent and aggressive and already both political parties are committed to their restoration to the provinces affected. The Liberal convention at Ottawa in 1919 resolved that the provinces should be granted the ownership and control of these lands on terms that were fair and equitable to the other provinces. Sir Robert Borden, as early as 1911, drew attention to the anomaly that "in six provinces the Crown in dealing with the public domain acts upon the advice of the provincial ministers, and under laws enacted by the provincial legislatures. In the three prairie provinces the Crown in dealing with such lands acts upon the advice of the Federal ministers and under laws enacted by the Federal parliament. The day is not far distant when....they shall receive the just recognition of their undoubted rights to their public lands and their natural resources."

Some of the public men of the Maritimes are disposed to dispute strongly the case which is now being advanced in the West for the return of these lands.

"The prairie provinces have shifted their ground," said one. "They now rest on the principle of British precedence whereby when a British colony becomes autonomous and is granted responsible government it follows as a matter of course and practice that all re-

maining lands shall be handed over to pay the civil list. They claim that all unsold public lands within their boundaries and minerals belong to the province from the time they were created by the Dominion.

"We maintain that the principle does not apply because when these provinces were created by the Dominion the latter continued to pay and still pays a large part of the cost of provincial administration, partly by per capita grants and partly by assuming certain rights and duties."

Exporters of Brains

One of the products of these provinces has found a ready market both within and without the Dominion. It is perhaps unfortunate for the Maritimes that there is no export tariff upon brains and no customs line to discourage the flow of talent into larger and more attractive fields of activity. The public life of the Dominion has benefitted enormously through Confederation by the stimulation which it has received from its far eastern section. Howe, Tupper, and Tilley, Fielding, Foster and Borden have left an impress upon the affairs of Canada quite out of proportion to the relation their home provinces bear, in the matter of population, to the rest of the country. Indeed the complaint is sometimes met that among the other disabilities under which Confederation laid this part of the country was that of draining its public life for the larger theatre of affairs

at Ottawa and impoverishing local politics to that degree. It is easy to understand how the loss of sovereign powers enjoyed in an earlier day has robbed the legislatures of much of the authority and consequent appeal to men of outstanding genius which made of Halifax, Fredericton, and Charlottetown centres of great influence and importance in what was the golden political, as well as commercial, age of the communities in question.

Unfortunately that drain upon the intellectual resources of the Maritimes has operated outside the boundaries of the Dominion. It has enriched both the public and the business life of other nations as well. A notable example is that of the smallest of the Canadian provinces, the little island of Prince Edward. Lying out in the Gulf, rather detached until recent years from intercourse with the regular tides of travel, it was exposed less than any other part of the Dominion to those incursions from the outside which arouse the *wanderlust* in the hearts of the young. It had no free homesteads or industrial opportunities to offer. All its lands were cultivated and settled with a stock which is not surpassed in the Dominion. Indeed, if one were to seek a distinctive and undiluted Canadian people, with all the moral virtues, with the primitive qualities of frugality and industry, no better selection could be made than that of the residents of this wonderful little island whose beauty is so well expressed in the old Indian name—*Abegweit*, "afloat on

the wave." It is studded with schools and churches. It has no poor. Nowhere are the comforts of rural life in greater evidence, nowhere is sordidness less.

Sentimental Reciprocity

Yet the great adventure would not be denied its youth. One generation has given to the people of the United States two of its great figures, in President Schurman, formerly of Cornell, and later U. S. minister to China, and the late Franklin T. Lane who, but for the constitutional provision which denies the presidency to all but the native born, might have been the chief magistrate of the Republic. The resources of character and personality of a little community of one hundred thousand people may be fairly judged from the two examples quoted.

And the people have a physique to match their mental qualities. It has been developed on the river drive, in the woods, on many a hazardous voyage at sea, in the virile sports which mark the winter seasons. Both Prince Louis of Battenberg, and Admiral Pakenham when they came to Charlottetown, found that the crack tug-of-war teams of their respective squadrons, the pride of the whole British navy, were no match for the sailors and farmers of the gem island of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

There has long been a sentimental relationship between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia. Halifax had its tea incident at the same time

as had Boston, and Massachusetts appealed to its Canadian neighbor to join in resistance to the Stamp Act. Although there was a section which wished to do so, the great majority, while perhaps differing with Britain's way of collecting the impost, agreed that the Old Country had spent enough on the colonies to justify seeking the revenue. This did not alter the warmth of the traditional friendship between the two cities.

When disaster overtook Halifax a few years ago a relief train from Boston was on the ground in forty-eight hours. In a few nights ten thousand Haligonians were sleeping on Massachusetts beds. Eighteen hundred homes were refurnished out of $120,000 of the first relief. In all $700,000 was subscribed by Massachusetts and, after the first demands were met, a sum in excess of $300,000 was left, out of which was provided $75,000 a year for five years to make a health survey and to establish a health centre in Halifax, one of the most unique on the continent. In addition to a staff of doctors this centre has sixteen nurses who accompany women to market, teach them how to buy and cook properly, superintend impending confinement cases, attend to the care of the teeth among children, and do other constructive social work. When this commenced the death rate among babies was 186 out of 1,000; now it is ninety-seven. The general death rate has been reduced from 22.3 to 14.6. This contribution of the people of the state in ques-

tion is regarded by the people of Halifax as even more important in its permanent results than the immediate relief work so promptly undertaken after the catastrophe.

The Lure of Youth

The lure of the nearby states is as old as the provinces themselves. It is said that there are half a million Nova Scotians in the New England states. Geography here plays the same tricks with national purposes and policies as it does elsewhere along the long frontier line. Just as more Winnipegers know St. Paul and Minneapolis, and more Vancouverites know Seattle and Portland, than know Montreal or Toronto, so the young fellow in St. John or Halifax, who seeks a holiday or a business opening, turns much more readily to the cities of Portland and Boston than he does to remote centres of the Dominion. The rather abnormal building boom which swept the American union during the earlier months of 1923 greatly accentuated this tendency. Even the visitor could not fail to be impressed and, if he were Canadian, somewhat depressed, by the throng of husky young fellows—the very flower of the country—who crowded the immigration offices to pay their $8 and receive their permits to emigrate to another country. With the passing of the immediate occasion many will doubtless return. But great numbers will inevitably find in the larger life which a more populous country affords, a permanent lure;

will marry, and make their homes there; and like Schurman and Lane, will be lost permanently to their native land.

One is led to believe that it is this ceaseless drain upon the very best of its youth which is the principle concern of the Maritime Provinces to-day, because it creates a permanent problem which colors the entire life of the country. The migratory class is the adventurous section of every community. It is this class which seeks the new, and the untried, and it is willing to sacrifice comfort to find it. A movement which year after year robs the provinces of a big section of its youth, at exactly the period of life when it is seeking virile and creative expression, cannot fail to leave a serious mark upon the tone and vigor of the general community. The inevitable tendency is to halt enterprise and to slow down production. It is indicative of the inherent vigor of the people that they have not suffered more from this exodus. Yet it is not unlikely that had this youthful aggressiveness been retained it would have been reflected in the development and organization of some of the great resources of these provinces, the potentialities of which are, as yet, but lightly realized

The coal and steel industries of Cape Breton are a good illustration of the effects of vision and enterprise such as these emigrants might have supplied to other sections in organizing natural wealth into a producer of actual revenue to the state, and a community builder. There

were a number of coal mines on the island which had been giving the province a royalty of some seven a half cents per ton. As the leases began to fall in the government sought to increase this royalty, and were met by a storm of protest from the owners, who declared, possibly with reason, that they were unable to pay more and that to increase it would result in the shutting down of the mines, and the loss even of such revenues as already came to the coffers of the province.

Hon. Mr. Fielding ascribes the credit of saving the coal situation in Nova Scotia to the late Hon. B. F. Pearson. Impressed with the necessity for intelligent action, that far-seeing man went into the whole situation and concluded that a merger of small interests in an adequately financed corporation was the only cure for the difficulty. "He succeeded," says Mr. Fielding, "in interesting H. M. Whitney, of Boston—a man who was very wealthy himself and represented great financial resources. They formed the Dominion Coal Co., which took over most of the going mines in the Cape Breton district, consolidated them into one, introduced vim and courage into the situation, modernized the equipment and put the whole industry on a a basis such as it had never before known. We granted them a ninety-nine year lease with the right to acquire any other mines in Cape Breton, and they, in turn, undertook to pay us twelve and a half cents royalty instead

of the ten cents which the individual miners feared would ruin them."

This company, starting with seventy-eight square miles of territory, has greatly increased its holdings, has raised wages, improved housing conditions and, in spite of the periodical strikes and other difficulties seemingly inseparable from the operation of coal mines, has transformed the whole character of the country. Out of this merger, fifteen years later, grew a great corporation for the manufacture of steel products—a company which eventually absorbed the parent organization, acquired the iron deposits of Bell Island, Newfoundland, and the limestone and dolmite mines in the vicinity, and gradually expanded its leases to cover the bulk of the coal areas of Nova Scotia.

It is significant that of a population increase of approximately 80,000 in Nova Scotia in the last forty years more than 50,000 has been in the coal mines area. In fact the city of Sydney had in the census of 1881 less than 1,500 people while that of 1921 showed a city of more than 22,000. The coal and coke products of the province of Nova Scotia yielded last year nearly $33,000,000 practically the same as the combined products of the farms.

New Brunswick, also has large coal measures at Minto and at other points which doubtless will ultimately contribute as markedly to the revenues of that province as is the case in Nova Scotia.

Here, as in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the greatest problem is a technical one. These coals are soft, and cannot bear profitably the freight rates inseparable from a long haul. It is this which handicaps maritime coal in the great coal consuming, and non-coal producing areas of Ontario and Quebec. The shorter haul of soft coal from nearby U. S. fields brings the latter into advantageous competition with Nova Scotia. It was partly a desire to use this soft coal, particularly slack, as near as possible to the pit mouth, that led to the organization of the steel company at Cape Breton. Already, by means of the water haul, the Montreal market is largely filled from this source, while greater coking facilities are projected in Montreal and other centres where the gas by-products can be marketed profitably. Hon. Arthur Meighen is of the opinion that the deepening of the St. Lawrence canal system, permitting cargo carriers of much greater capacity and consequent cheapness of handling, to proceed to Toronto may enable Cape Breton coal to find as ready a market further inland as it now does at Montreal.

Relief may come, even sooner, from another source. English experiments in the low temperature carbonization of soft coals have evolved a residue which, relieved of extraneous matter, and yet retaining ten per cent. of its volatile substances, is more radiant, and emits more heat units than coal. One ton is said to equal one and three-quarter tons of coal. The

gas, which is only half of that produced in the ordinary coking processes, is used in heating the retorts, and most valuable by-products of motor spirits, Diesel oils, lubricating oils, and sulphate of ammonia are obtained. Maritime enterprise which once sailed 808 ships out of St. John, may find in the laboratory the answer to one of her problems for which no adequate answer is yet forthcoming from the freight and tariff experts of the railways.

The reply of the Greek god to the appeal of the carter who had become mired is cited as the way out by one of the most distinguished of Canadian statesmen who was himself born within sound of the Atlantic: "When you put your own shoulder to the wheel, Hercules will be with you."

And if a modern instance be demanded to confirm an ancient legend, it is furnished in what Cape Breton, under the stimulation of a far-seeing man, and with the co-operation of a financial Hercules, has already done.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF THE ATLANTIC. LIBERAL LANDS POLICY—SIGHTS TO SOOTHE THE TOURIST—A PERMANENT INDUSTRY—IS UNION FEASIBLE?—NO SEPARATE SCHOOL QUESTION—HOWE'S VISION.

WHAT has already been accomplished in some measure for coal in Nova Scotia remains to be accomplished for the timber trade of New Brunswick. For more than two centuries the woods of the more northerly province have been laid under tribute for both naval and commercial purposes. Black spruce for yards and topmasts were early drawn from New Brunswick woods by the French, and their example was later followed by the English. The rivalry of firms and the danger of molestation by the Indians gave to the masting industry some of the flavor of adventure associated with the fur trade. The square timber and regular lumber cutting business followed and to-day perhaps the greatest interest centres about the pulp wood trade.

The agitation to prohibit the export of pulp wood, no matter whether drawn from public or private lands, continues, and is closely associated with projects for the development of

enormous water powers now going to waste at Great Falls on the St. John river. A start on hydro development has been made on the Musquash, and out of a general policy of expansion on these lines it is hoped to produce power so cheaply and distribute it so widely that even the fine hardwoods, maple, beech, and birch, which are at present used for little but firewood purposes, may be utilized to displace the hardwood flooring now imported from the upper provinces, and perhaps to furnish material for export as well.

More than two and a half million dollars has been expended upon the Musquash river, eighteen miles from St. John, from which St. John and Moncton will both secure their supply of energy and light.

Agriculturally, the provinces have not been marked by a development that either their age, or their productive capacity warrants. For dairying and stock-raising, conditions are most favorable. Apples, plums and small fruits do well on the Island, and in the valley of the St. John the horticultural possibilites are just beginning to be appreciated. In 1923 two million barrels of apples were taken, principally from the five forked depressions in the hills that are famous as the Annapolis valley. Here not only is fruit of rare quality and color grown, but the life of an apple tree runs for more than a hundred years. The fact that not more than a tenth of this valley is under

cultivation indicates the possibilites of development.

Liberal Lands Policy

In all the lower provinces the authorities are pursuing a liberal policy in making lands available to the *bona fide* settler on easy terms. Improved lands which have come back into the hands of the government are offered at exceedingly low prices, with long terms for repayment and at a reasonable rate of interest. Wooded lands can be acquired on pre-emption terms practically as attractive as those which have drawn thousands to the Canadian plains. Compliance with certain settlement and improvement duties within a term of years enables a settler in practically all these provinces to become the owner of one hundred acres of land free. True, he has still the task of clearing the land, from which he is relieved on the prairies, but the wood upon many of these farms is of a value to make it anything but a liability, and one of the limitations which has to be imposed is that the patent shall not issue where the supposed settler has simply capitalized his lumber values to the logging firms. Hardwood stumps decay rapidly and the cleared land comes in, in an astonishingly short time, for cropping purposes.

The lure of larger farms which require no clearing has hitherto carried immigration past these provinces to the middle West, and a recognition of that tendency has, perhaps, accounted

for a certain lack of vigor in immigration work. There seems now to be a growing appreciation of the fact that the lower provinces have an appeal which can be utilized with good prospect of success.

Among prominent merchants and public men there is a sentiment frequently encountered, that government activity should not be confined alone to the stimulation of agriculture. The fisheries of the provinces have proved a never-failing source of revenue, and show no signs of that depletion which follows long-continued fishing in other parts. The reason seems to be that nature herself provides a close season which furnishes protection to the fish at the proper time. Were the fisheries department as highly organized as is that of agriculture, it is claimed that not only would the catch itself be increased in the well-known lines of cod, haddock, lobsters, oysters, herring, etc., but that other varieties, now neglected, would be taken, and that a better organized system of marketing, under distinct brands, would do much to render the industry more flourishing.

At present New Brunswick follows the inshore trade, where smaller vessels can be used, while Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, being nearer to the Banks, have developed the deep sea fisheries, using more pretentious craft. This year some of the larger boards of trade have asked the Ottawa government to have an exhaustive inquiry instituted into the fisher-

ies situation, with a view to the reorganization of the department and the more vigorous promotion of the industry. In this connection they draw attention to recent adverse United States legislation which shuts Bluenose fishermen out of American Atlantic ports, and renders it still more difficult to place Canadian fish products on that market. They ask that, in consequence, Canada revoke all special privileges to United States fishing vessels in our Atlantic ports not specifically provided for in the treaty of 1818—"this to include the so-called *modus vivendi* which has been in vogue since the 'eighties of last century, thus reducing the privileges of American fishing vessels in our Atlantic ports to the 'humanities' so called, viz.: food, shelter, water, and repairs."

New Brunswick's revenue from the sea runs annually between $6,000,000 and $7,000,000 while in 1922 Nova Scotia fishery products represented a value of some $13,000,000, more than a third of that from the farm, and considerably more than was derived from the forest. Lobster alone, nowhere more succulent than here, is worth yearly to Nova Scotia more than $4,000,000. This province has 70,000 square miles of fishing grounds.

In Prince Edward Island there are 4,300 acres of natural producing oyster beds, which can be developed to equal in the quality of their product the famous Malpeque oyster of Richmond Bay in the same province. There

are more than 300,000 lobster traps in use on the Island. Its fisheries are worth a million and a half dollars annually.

In addition to longer-established markets, the opening of the Panama canal has enabled government steamers to carry Atlantic fish to Australia in thirty-two days instead of in forty-two as around the Horn, while the West Indies and South America are both old markets. The latter have never been fully exploited.

Sights to Soothe the Tourist

Lands so vast, so beautiful, and in places so primitive, possess attractions to tourists the capital value of which is just beginning to be understood. Probably the most famous moose hunting in the world is in the northern woods of New Brunswick. Last year more than a thousand moose were killed in this territory and more than three thousand deer. Fish and game licenses of all kinds brought $100,000 to the coffers of the province. The streams of this whole district, under proper protection, will provide a continual and growing source of wealth, while the development of a system of good roads connecting with those from the South would greatly stimulate the flow of tourist trade from that section.

Around the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence there are summer sights to stir the soul of the artist. Lucy Montgomery has made famous the "shining water" of her native Prince Ed-

ward. There are few more wonderful prospects in the world than a sunset over Cove Head, with its background of highly-cultivated fields of vivid green, with roads and banks, brick red from the color of the country soil, with bays and lagoons brilliant with luminous water, and with the lord of day sinking into a distant gulf of deepest blue. And if two or three white cranes alight where the blue water meets the deep red of the cliffs, the contrasts in tones and colors are such as to drive the artist to despair.

Prince Edward Island has shown how a minor game resource can be developed into an industry of remarkable proportions. The foxes of the Island had long been noted for their size, and for the fine texture and sheen of their pelts. Then a far-seeing trader and hunter, Sir Charles Dalton, commenced their commercial propagation. With some associates he secured an island, and for ten years, in semi-privacy, bred foxes for their pelts. By careful selection and breeding they developed a fur of high commercial value for which they found ready sale in the fur centres of the world. Finally others came to learn of the profits which the business presented, and the fox farm boom started—a boom as fantastic, and as romantic as that which grew up about the South Seas in the days of the great Bubble. In 1910 thirty-three pelts sold in London for $1,340 apiece. By 1913 when the boom was at its

height breeders got as high as $3,000 for a pair while forty animals brought $62,500.

A Permanent Industry

The days of these long prices have gone with the breakdown of those European markets which formerly bought so heavily—Berlin, Vienna, Paris, and Petrograd. But the industry is now a well-established one which, while offering none of the fabulous profits of the late nineties, is on a sound, scientific, and still highly profitable basis. The island has become the nursery for the industry the world over. The United States has drawn its best stock from these Gulf strains and, with characteristic business acumen, has now imposed a fifty per cent. duty with the idea of preserving its own rich home market for its own breeders. But the superiority of these P.E.I. foxes still insures for them and their skins a constant trade. There are 400 fox farms on the Island to-day, and more than 8,000 breeding pairs. Foxes breed when they are a year old, and the usual size of a litter is from three to seven puppies while an occasional vixen will double that number. They breed until ten years of age. Government officials affirm that the industry even as at present carried on (and hard times especially affect luxuries) yields from thirty to fifty per cent. on the investment.

There are climatic conditions which cannot be equalled further south, and these account for the quality of the hair and its brilliance.

The breeders, too, have learned by long experience many of those lessons which have first to be mastered before any industry really arrives. The gross turnover yearly is now approaching two million dollars.

Is Union Feasible?

While a maritime union of the three provinces was the original objective of its public men, and brought them together at Charlottetown in the historic conference at which a larger confederation was discussed, and while today some similar combination is being urged, the difficulties of carrying it out are great. Some unification of the provincial machinery of government would reduce overhead, and would give the united provinces a more cohesive representation in the House of Commons. The difficulties lie in the natural opposition of the official classes and those dependent upon them, to a change so disturbing to personal plans and in the concern of all as to where the seat of government for the united provinces is to be located.

An almost exact duplicate of the situation is furnished in connection with the effort to consolidate higher educational facilities in the three provinces. At present the two mainland provinces are too abundantly served with universities and academies, often sectarian in character. The suggestion that all these be federated with the major university, Dalhousie, at Halifax, has been accentuated by the prospect

of very heavy endowments for such an institution from the Rockefeller foundation and other sources. An analysis of the attendance at all these schools shows that less than fifty per cent. attend the schools of their own denomination; that more New Brunswick students are educated without than within the province; and that all P.E.I. students obtain higher education elsewhere. In spite of the obvious advantages to be derived from federation, it would be an enthusiast indeed who would predict that such a consummation is near. Dourness is one of the qualities which these residents by the sea have derived from their Scotch ancestors.

No Separate School Question

There is no Separate School question in these provinces. The sentiment which provokes it elsewhere is met here in an interesting way. Frequently orders of the Roman Catholic church establish their own school and staff it with teachers, duly qualified under provincial educational standards, of their own faith. Later the department of education is asked to rent the building, and operate it as a public school. When this is done, the public school curriculum is followed, and the school inspected by officials of the department. During regular school hours there is no religious instruction, but this is permitted to such pupils as so desire, after the conclusion of the regular sessions. The teachers, though duly qualified with provincial certificates, in many instances wear the habit of their orders.

There is some suggestion, that apart from the dress of the instructors, the paintings and other decorations of the building create, by suggestion, an atmosphere too clerical for those sensitive to such matters. On the whole, however, there is less objection than might be expected. In large centres like Charlottetown, Fredericton and Halifax there follows a natural segregation of Roman Catholic children to these particular schools. It is an interesting departure, and one which would appear to be of deliberate policy by the church authorities, as almost exactly the same system is being followed in the prairie provinces.

Howe's Vision

Notwithstanding the very general opposition in the far eastern provinces to Confederation, and the present criticism of its results, the lively imagination and prophetic insight of Joseph Howe had anticipated a transcontinental railway system and some form of unity fifteen years before the passing of the B.N.A. Act. He saw in his native province but the "frontage of a territory which includes four millions of square miles, stretching away behind and beyond into the frozen regions on one side and to the Pacific on the other.

"Throwing aside the more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a magnificent country between Canada and the Pacific, out of which five or six noble provinces may be formed, larger than any we have and presenting

to the hand of industry and to the eye of speculation every variety of soil, climate, and resource. With such a territory as this to over-run, organize and improve, think you we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada, or even at the shores of the Pacific? Vancouver's island with its vast coal measures lies beyond. The beautiful islands of the Pacific and the growing commerce of that ocean are beyond. Populous China and the rich east are beyond; and the sails of our children's children will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the South as they now brave the angry tempests of the north.

"I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, yet I will venture to predict that in five years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal and home through Portland and St. John by rail, and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky mountains and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days."

Such, as early as 1851, was the vision of Howe. To him it was a call to high endeavor. His appeal to his countrymen, then, may well be repeated to-day in the face of conditions temporarily discouraging, but destined yet to yield to courage and confidence.

"The maritime provinces," he declared, "are but the Atlantic frontage of this boundless and prolific region—the wharves upon which its business will be transacted and beside which its rich argosies will lie. Will you then put

your hands unitedly with order, intelligence, and energy, to this great work? Refuse and you are recreant to every principle which lies at the base of your country's prosperity and advancement; refuse and the Deity's handwriting upon land and sea is to you unintelligible language. God has planted your country in the foreground of this boundless region; see that you comprehend its destiny and resources—see that you discharge with energy and elevation of soul the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position. Hitherto, my countrymen, you have dealt with this matter in a becoming spirit, and whatever others may think or apprehend, I know you will persevere in that spirit until our objects are attained."

The predictions of Howe with respect to western development have been fulfilled with astonishing fidelity; his confidence in the courage and resourcefulness of his own countrymen, time will doubtless just as fully vindicate.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROBLEMS OF QUEBEC—RELIGION A DOMINANT FACTOR—A POLICY OF REPATRIATION—A SOLUTION FOUND—THE VEXED QUESTION OF SCHOOLS—HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT—CONSERVING THE FOREST WEALTH—MUST SAFEGUARD THE NEW GROWTH—THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TO THE LABOR QUESTION—A FARM FOR SIXTY DOLLARS—QUEBEC SAVES MILLIONS YEARLY—LEADER OF THE PROVINCE.

A transmaritime train drew into the switch in a Gaspé village to cross the southbound express. It was a spring day in mid-week, but all work had been suspended and the whole population was at the station in evident expectancy. Although the streams were brimming and at their very best for the spring drive, the hardy river men had forsaken pike and peavy, and had joined in the holiday. A flat car partly loaded with pulp wood lay idly in the siding; a plough stood in its half-cut furrow. Children chattered eagerly in French. When the express arrived, the bishop of the diocese descended from the car, and walked through a line of kneeling folk, on whom, left and right, he bestowed his benediction as he passed. Those of another faith who failed to kneel and uncover were regarded with looks of surprise

and disapprobation. The visit of the bishop was clearly regarded as of as much importance as that of the premier.

Through the whole of the beautiful countryside of Quebec, with the exception of Protestant sections like the eastern townships, the same tokens of devotion are everywhere in evidence. No hamlet so small that it does not boast its fine church: no town of importance that does not show, gleaming among its trees, the roof of ecclesiastical palace, convent, or monastery. Everywhere, (to borrow a Rosebery phrase) are seen "the little villages, clustering about the heaven-directed spires, testifying that faith is not dead" in Quebec. In the larger cities great cathedrals dominate in many localities as temple and tithe house dominate the city of Salt Lake, and devout worshippers throng thither on more days than Sundays. The feast days of the church have a recognition found in a few other parts of the world. The departments of government even calls into service the office of the priesthood to warn settlers of the danger of spreading fire.

Religion a Dominant Factor

As in no other province of the Dominion, the social, political and commercial life of the people is influenced by their religious system and faith. The fact that they speak a tongue, different from that of the majority of Canadians, in a measure sets them apart from the people of other provinces and emphasizes their in-

sularity. Quebec is imperfectly known to the other provinces; it is inevitable that she should be misunderstood.

What outsiders usually fail to remember is, that the intimate association between church and state so evident in old Quebec existed from the earliest days of New France. Cartier was an explorer by instinct and lacked the religious passion of some of his successors. But even Cartier planted a cross at the head of the bay of Penouil, as well as broke out the fleur-de-lis. The land was taken for a heavenly as well as an earthly King. And that policy and that tradition still persist.

Quebec, to-day, is the land of Champlain, rather than of Cartier. For Champlain, whether he fought, explored, or colonized—and he did all three well—did so as a crusader. When he first penetrated into the far country of the Hurons, it was to introduce a Recollet father who he hoped would redeem the redskins from paganism. Champlain's attempts at colonization (he established his own farm at Cape Tourmente) sprang from the hope that thereby the natives would be brought to Christianity. This was why, in 1617, he brought out Herbert, the first farmer in Canada, who with no other implement but a spade, caused corn, spinach, rose bushes, and even apple trees to cheer the wilderness where is now the city of Quebec. There is poetic justice in the fact that on the heights where Hebert found big trees waving, there stands to-day Archbishop's palace, cathe-

dral, seminary, and university all nurtured by and continuing the faith which Champlain loved, and for which he hoped and endured so much. The great painting from a French-Canadian brush, which hangs in the provincial premier's office, and depicts the country curé leading his flock to the sugar bush, and consecrating their labors, probably presents as near a realization of the ideas which Champlain pictured to himself as is given to most nation builders.

Any study of the province in question which ignores the vital part which the racial instinct and the prevailing creed have always played, and play to-day in the outlook and aspirations of its people, will be futile and unprofitable. And because both bulk large in the chronicle of the nation, a brief statement of facts revealed in the last official survey should first be given.

The last census (1921) shows that Quebec has a population of 2,361,199, or 26.87 per cent. of that of the whole Dominion, Ontario with 2,933,662, or 33.38 per cent., alone exceeds it in numbers. But in solidarity the French-Canadian province stands unequalled in the entire Canadian Confederation. Of its total population 1,889,090 are of French origin, and 2,019,518 are of the Roman Catholic faith. The stock has remained exceptionally pure. Those of British derivation number 357,295 but the number of those of other nationalities is negligible. The largest group is the Hebrews

of whom there are over 50,000 mostly in Montreal. Relatively small groups of Italians and Indians and mere handfuls of other races make up the remainder. This is not the outcome of accident; it is in a large measure a result, but by no means an undirected result, of certain conditions and circumstances. Church and State have worked in close co-operation to produce a condition which is in some respects unique. It is not without interest to those who recognize in ethnological factors one of the most potent influences in nation building. It is suggestive as illustrating how reverence for law and respect for authority may be inculcated through the religious instinct. And it is significant in the side-light which it throws on the question of whether national development may be deliberately controlled and directed, or whether like Topsy it "just grows."

That policy has several objectives in which both church and state are concerned. One is to retain within the boundaries of the province as many as possible of its sons. Hence a liberal land law, a far sighted timber and water utilization scheme, and an interesting labor plan, to which reference will be made later. In spite of every effort the southern exodus cannot be wholly stopped. But no pains are spared to keep it at the minimum.

A Policy of Repatriation

Another phase of the government's policy relates to immigration and differentiates it

from that of practically all other provincial governments, especially those west of the Great Lakes. The tide of immigration has flowed unceasingly through the river gates of Quebec but little of it has remained. It has found vent principally west of the Ottawa river. There is but spare need for a racial melting pot in Quebec. Sir Lomer Gouin, the courtly Minister of Justice, formerly premier of the province, will not admit that Quebec does not desire these immigrants. Neither will Premier Taschereau. Indeed the latter makes of the situation something of a grievance against the West. But it is probable that the authorities knowing that conditions were not favorable to its retention, have made little effort to divert the westerly flow of European immigration. They prefer to retain those of their own flesh and blood, and to attract back to their native province the great body of young French Canadians who have flocked to the mills of New England, and have made of Fall River, Mass., the third French-Canadian city on the continent. One gathers the impression that there is at least one Canadian province in which little enthusiasm exists over the advent of hordes of people from the varied tribes and kindreds of the earth, and where a tacit determination exists to build nationhood out of its own indigenous product.

Here again public policy finds invaluable aid in religious teaching. Every province would welcome the development of its territory

by the natural increase of its own people. But this is dependent upon a vigorous birth rate. And nowhere in North America, with one exception, can the birth rate (viewed from the standpoint just mentioned) be regarded with any satisfaction. And that exception is in Quebec and its border counties in other provinces.

Racial fecundity has Scriptural sanction in the injunction to "be fruitful and multiply." To this Biblical responsibility was added in an earlier day the urge of national exigency. The early conditions in New France were so grave that the very existence of the colony depended upon increasing its population. It may well be that as a result an emphasis was laid upon this duty which has made it traditional. The chronicles of those days are studded with evidences of the concern felt by governor, intendant, prelate, and priest, lest the rapid growth of population in New England should bring disaster to New France. Repeated failures of colonization companies aggravated the situation and increased the general anxiety. The apathy of the home government contributed to local exasperation. Paris treated Quebec, for long, as a mere fur post. The colonization companies failed to help, fearing that the presence of more settlers might tend to curtail their power. Richelieu, through his Company of One Hundred Associates did something to assist colonial aspirations, but his work was all undone by the first Iroquois war which

decimated the population. "Most of those who perished," says Salone, "were grown men recently married, or about to be married. A man killed by the Iroquois meant nearly always a whole family of colonists destroyed."

An Indian peace and Talon's efforts did something to repair this disaster when Frontenac's regime saw another backward swing of the pendulum. More soldier than administrator, his dream of a French continental empire led him to send forth his explorers and coureurs de bois, depopulating the colony, stopping cultivation, and ultimately involving the land in another war with the Iroquois, and with something worse, with the numerically powerful New Englanders whose population had reached 250,000 as compared with the 12,000 French in Canada and Acadia. The peace of Ryswick and the War of the Spanish Succession furnished a repetition of the same experience. In thirteen years the increase in population only equalled half the birth rate. The matter was the subject of long and frequent letters between governor and minister. It was a subject of even greater concern within the colony. As late as 1759 a local writer prepared a memorandum, still in the provincial archives, in which, in despair, and foreseeing the capture of Canada by the English, he advocated the wholesale transfer of all the inhabitants of New France to Louisiana, whither so many had already gone. During the five years preceding the conquest, even Montcalm

instructed his commanders to "favor the marriage of soldiers with daughters of the peasantry, which will increase the number of farmers."

A Solution Found

Once peace was permanently established, efficiency in government restored, and the thrifty French folk permitted to follow their natural avocations, while retaining the privileges of their own law, property, religion and language, the policy, so unsatisfactorily attempted in pre-conquest days, flourished. It is one of the anomalies of history that what the colonists passionately and vainly attempted under the rule of their own kings, was made possible only when the country came under the dominion of a race which they had so bitterly fought. For the habit of large families survived peace, persisted under alien rule, and was retained with liberty of faith and tongue. Encouraged by the Church, a racial trait invaluable in the policy of the state, has become a fixed national characteristic.

This was doubtless facilitated by the generous terms of the final peace which Montcalm and Wolfe sealed with their blood. But the magnanimity has not been all on one side. In a province so overwhelmingly French there has been great consideration shown the English minority.

This fact is rather strikingly displayed in the educational system of Separate Schools, which, a constant source of irritation in other

provinces, works smoothly and satisfactorily in this. Whatever criticism these schools may provoke elsewhere, they evoke little or none from the Protestants of Quebec. Here the laws recognize the right of both Catholics and Protestants to have their own distinct schools. In any district three or more of the minority may express their dissent from maintaining the ordinary school, and may set up their own, electing their own trustees with the same powers over the rates of those of their faith as the regular trustees exercise over others. If they are Protestant their school becomes a Protestant school, under Protestant teachers and inspectors, with a curriculum prescribed by the Protestant council of public instruction and with school taxes levied on Protestant ratepayers. Legislative subsidies are divided proportionately between these schools; the proceeds of taxes from joint stock companies are allotted in the same manner. English and French are taught in all schools. This system was made effective in 1841 and ever since the department of education has functioned dually through distinct councils representative of the two leading creeds. In the Catholic schools, the church catechism is a part of the curriculum and teachers must pass an examination in it.

The Vexed Question of Schools

The only hardship which seems to have arisen grows out of the designation of Pro-

testant as non-Catholic schools. This imposes upon Protestant jurisdiction the instruction of children of every non-Catholic faith. As a result there has in recent years grown up the care of over 14,000 Hebrew children in the city of Montreal alone. Protestants claim that it costs them $360,000 a year more to furnish this class with educational facilities than they derive from taxes from the same source. Relief measures are now being provided which will transfer this financial care to the shoulders of the City of Montreal.

The degree to which English is taught seems to vary with localities. Public men when questioned are unanimous in their view that it is desirable. Undoubtedly there is some reluctance in certain quarters, as expressed by the ultramontane bishop when he advised his people: "Learn English, but don't learn it too much."

The defect of the Separate School, nationally, is that it maintains a cleavage between boys and girls of the same country and segregates them into groups, more or less racial and religious, at the plastic period in young life when its friendships, and also its prejudices are formed.

The objection so often met that the Separate School is a religious rather than an educational institution fails to recognize a conviction with regard to the relationship of education and religion held tenaciously by the Quebec

Catholic, and more lightly, if at all, by his Protestant compatriot. It is the conviction expressed by Matthew Arnold, which, from memory, is in effect as follows:

"My experience leads me to believe that morals cannot be successfully taught to the youth without a religious sanction."

This view is not alone a clerical one. As shrewd a man of the world as Hon. Mr. Caron, the provincial minister of agriculture expresses the same opinion. He says:

"Schools without religion teach rights, but schools with religion teach obligations.

"The state is good for making laws, and for punishing offenders. But the state is a poor teacher on the moral side.

"If for the regulation of society we depend only on the authority and force of government, with no moral force behind it, we have a hard job."

A Protestant premier of another province was telling *MacLeans* of a request he had from the Protestant clergy that some system of religious instruction be given in the schools. He promptly undertook that if the representatives of all the Protestant denominations would agree upon hymns, prayers, and scripture lessons he would have these printed and distributed at government expense. To date they have not notified him of an agreement. He added with a smile:

"Broadly speaking, I find the Catholics ask for Separate Schools because they want religion

taught, while we Protestants ask for them because we do not."

Doubtless many Protestants feel as strongly as Catholics on so-called "godless" schools, but sectarian divisions make action more difficult. Which may seem to some, an argument in favor of Protestant church union.

A Matter of Wood and Water

The first concern of the settler in selecting the site for his cabin is a sufficient supply of wood and water. After four centuries of deforestation and white coal waste the government of Quebec finds itself facing a somewhat similar problem, namely, how to utilize its ample water power, and how to conserve its rapidly vanishing wood.

These two must be carried out without conflicting with a third factor in the programme, viz.: retaining the people on the land and thus absorbing the natural increase of the rural population. Here, as in the other provinces a lost farmer often means a lost farm.

"Ours is a double problem—agricultural development and industrial development," says the minister of agriculture. The Quebec statesman has his eye jealously on two points: the Canadian west which is absorbing the great bulk of overseas immigrants, and the New England states which are a lodestone to the younger population.

If he is not anxious for the European immigrant, he is particularly desirous of retaining his own native sons. Thirty thousand of them

went south in 1921. Sixty thousand went in 1922. The exodus is no greater than from other provinces, relatively. But here it awakens more practical anxiety. "Our young fellows when they go to the mills in Fall River," said Father Vachon, the strapping young professor of chemistry in Quebec seminary, "become more independent after a few years. They cultivate different amusements. Their habits and tastes are not so simple. I doubt if many of them will return."

To provide employment both agriculturally and industrially under attractive conditions, the government have gone about matters in a very practical way. Southern mills furnish work the year round. The fine mills at Grand Mere, at Jonquiere and at Three Rivers have not always been able to assure this because of the shortage of water at certain seasons. The government is overcoming that trouble. Work is now no longer inconstant. The mills run every working day in the year. And the story of how it has been done is as interesting in the foresight it reveals as in the resource and skill involved in its accomplishment.

Hydro Electric Development

Few hydro-electric developments on the continent excel in interest the great undertakings which have been opened up at the headwaters of the St. Maurice and at the outlet of Lake St. John. Both are the outcome of the same policy. One is an accomplished

and succesful fact. The other, and larger scheme is still in process of development.

This policy involves the impoundage of large bodies of water at the headquarters of the bigger streams, insuring an even daily flow throughout the year, and the lease of the permanent power thus assured to manufacturing companies who themselves harness and utilize it. It is in distinct contrast with the Ontario Hydro policy which is one of the greatest examples of the state itself actually developing and distributing water power.

The present development began in the failure of water in the dams and tail races of the St. Maurice Hydraulic Company. The company applied for power to increase the storage at the headwaters in the Laurentian mountains. The government hesitated to confer this power on a private company for fear of a conflict of interests with other companies already operating or who might later acquire unsold power sites on the river. Following an expert investigation the government proceeded to erect on the upper reaches of the St. Maurice, and 230 miles from its mouth and the site of most of the factories to which it furnishes power, a monster dam involving a watershed of 3,650 square miles. This great structure known as the Gouin dam is 47 feet above natural low water, and cost to construct $2,500,000. The impounded water constitutes a lake of 300 square miles which is navigable by steamers for a third of that dis-

tance. It has a storage capacity of 160,000,000,000 cubic feet—said to be the largest in the world. "We have enough water there for a canal that would float a battleship from the Atlantic to the Pacific," says Premier Taschereau.

By means of this dam the department is able to assure and deliver to the mills at Grand Mere, Shawinigan, and elsewhere, 12,000 second feet as a minimum where formerly the flow varied from five times that amount to half of it. The mills are charged 50 cents a horse power a year and the annual return is $215,000. Over half a million horse-power has already been developed and as much more is possible. The engineer of the department, Mr. Arthur Amos, estimates that the revenue will take care of interest, sinking fund, and profit on operation, and will retire all the bonds in 20 years.

But as yet only 1,015,085, or about ten per cent. of the potential water-power of the province, has been developed. To further stimulate industrial expansion the government has lauched an even bigger scheme at Lake St. John which is expected to save $1,500,000 in coal bills.

Lake St. John is the feeder of the famous Saguenay river and is 500 feet above the sea. By permitting a group of American capitalists to use the first 250,000 horse-power developed free, the province has secured the investment of $20,000,000 in developing the Grande Dis-

charge which is the outlet of the lake. The level of the latter, which has an area of 350 square miles will be raised over 20 feet. A similar, though smaller work on Lake Keogami will bring its level up 30 feet. A whole village, Cyriac, is being flooded out, and the government is being somewhat badgered by local people because the cemetery is thereby threatened, and the resting place of the dead is likely to be invaded by the activities of the living.

The resulting water-power leases are sold by auction and the lessee is required to develop at least fifty per cent. of his possible resources. An idea of the possibilities of the St. Maurice alone may be formed from the fact that there are two unused powers on this river capable of developing 150,000 horse-power each. If power is exported to another province the tax is doubled, just as an export duty is levied on pulp wood cut on crown lands destined for another country. The policy behind each is that of developing the raw resources of the province within its own boundaries. Without impairing its own credit appreciably the government has been able to secure enormous foreign investment, leaving its own money free for domestic needs, and at the same time creating a healthy revenue. Eight years ago the revenue from these leases amounted to $20,000. Last year they yielded $322,500.

Conserving the Forest Wealth

The mills which mark the principal waterfalls are largely devoted to forest products.

The value of these forests have continued to increase and to be appreciated since the depletion of similar woods in the United States. In an effort to conserve this important asset the province has evolved a timber policy of advanced character.

It is based on several wise hypotheses. Here as elsewhere, the lumbermen long treated the forests as inexhaustible. Little or no attention was paid to their conservation. So recklessly did many of them proceed, that Mr. G. C. Piche, the chief forester, has declared that their limits will be depleted in 20 years. Their whole attention and energy was long devoted to the improvement of manufacturing processes; the systematic maintenance of supply through young growth was ignored.

To the loss resulting from this indifference there have been added of late years virulent epidemics of forest pests which have brought bitter destruction to the timber. About forty years ago the larch saw-fly practically wiped out all the tamerac east of the Rocky mountains, and this tree is only now beginning to reappear. But the depredations of this scourge were mild compared to those of the spruce bud worm which has, it is estimated, in a few years destroyed 100,000,000 cords of pulp wood. Fungi and wind also take their toll, the first stimulated by wasteful lumbering, the latter rendered more destructive by great channels of clearings.

The department proceeds and legislates upon the assumption that the first duty of a lumber

company, as Mr. Piche puts it, is " to know exactly what quantities of wood it possesses upon its limits and what is the annual capacity of the forest it controls. Without these essential facts the operations are conducted at random, and this is why many companies now face a situation more serious than they ever suspected."

The department is not insensible to the wisdom of reafforestation by nursery propagation. But it believes that spruce and hemlock, like salmon, are best propagated by protecting the natural forms of reproduction. Hence recent legislation of a far-reaching character.

Must Safeguard the New Growth

In Quebec a limit holder must not only know thoroughly his own limits, but he must satisfy the department that his season's operations will safeguard the season's crop. Each season he must submit a most comprehensive report. He files a working plan of his proposed cut and must have the approval of the forestry engineers before he proceeds. He must show the total number and variety of trees growing on his limits and the number above and below certain diameters. To this inventory must be added growth studies which enable the department to determine the volume of wood which the limit produces annually. This takes cognizance of insect and fire destruction, and allows for it. The timber

taken is thus regulated to permit the steady increase in forest resources concurrently with regular and continuous lumbering. It establishes a new standard, and to quote Mr. Piche again, it compels the limit holders " to determine the extent of their operations not so much according to the needs of their mills, as according to the productive capacity of their holding."

Though at first raising natural objection, the timber men are now co-operating heartily. At a recent sale of limits in the Manicougouan district, conditions were attached which required a complete inventory of the whole area within three years, so that the forest could be placed under scientific management and the annual cut thereby limited to the amount of the annual increment. One company through its own engineers has already carried out such a survey, and submitted it to the department, embracing an area of nine hundred square miles.

These operations give to the Forestry department an importance and status not enjoyed in many states or provinces, and involve a staff of unusual size and skill. Here again Quebec is carefully developing her own resources, for to a school for forestry engineers which has existed for some time it has now added a school for fire rangers, forest rangers, scalers, and lumber foremen. There is also being instituted a school for expert instruction in pulp and paper manufacture, now such a

prominent factor in provincial activities. It is hoped that shortly the great pulp mills which have resulted from a joint policy of export pulp duties and hydro-electrical development will draw not only their raw material but their technical experts and directors from the province itself.

The support of the lumbermen has been partially secured by the tacit undertaking that they will not be put to this great expense without assurance that their rights will be secured. The province is being classified into arable and timber lands. Forest reserves which will be permanent and perpetual will include not only lands unfit for cultivation but the sectors in the upper basins of the numerous rivers of the province which are required to protect these headwaters and regulate their natural flow.

The Church's Attitude to the Labor Question

With the resulting industrial development have come the inevitable differences between capital and labor. In these the Church has always exercised a stabilizing influence, and of late it has gone a step further in neutralizing possible radicalism in the international labor bodies. The Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada is a labor organization which bears the imprimatur of the Church. It declares that the basis of understanding so desirable between employer and employee should lie in a common conception

of rights and duties, and that the authority to define these is the Church. It is opposed to present international workmen's organizations and what it terms "the domination of Canadian organized labor by American organized labor." It believes "it is wrong, an economic error, a national abdication, and a political danger to have in Canada syndicates depending on a foreign centre which have not our laws, nor our habits, nor our mentality, nor even the same problems as we have. It believes Canadian organized labor must be self-governing, settle its own affairs itself, and must not be drowned in a syndicalist mass where its initiative is powerless, its will inefficient, and its own life impossible."

Naturally international labor looks with much disfavor on this body, the more so as it gives the priesthood of the church large and almost final powers within the organization. Notwithstanding a disposition by international labor men to discredit this church body, it is able to muster large and increasing gatherings in annual conventions. At the congress of 1921, 200 delegates attended representing 89 unions and 45,000 members.

This union is more acceptable to employers than some others, partly because of its Canadian character, and partly because, being under church control, it is less likely to be radical. It forms an interesting section of the story of industrial life in Quebec, and its ultimate share in stabilizing labor conditions

will be watched with interest by more than one class.

A Farm for Sixty Dollars

In a land where half the population is rural and the families large, provision for the easy acquiring of land is one of the obvious duties of the government. Those who believed that only in the west could a free homestead be obtained may be surprised to find that the lower province also provides homesteads for its people almost free of cost. In the new townships $60 buys a 100 acre farm. There are modest building, fencing, and clearing requirements and five years in which to pay. True the land is wooded, but the revenue from this is a real factor in insuring revenues for the farmer till he gets his land producing. To prevent the land being acquired by lumbermen, the settler's record is carefully scrutinized before his patent issues.

In every Canadian province the bar, as once known, no longer exists. The problem which each province is now seeking to solve is, whether a system of which prohibition is the active principle, or one in which government control or ownership is the basis, is the better. Where views differ so widely and where they are held so strongly an attempt to appraise the merits of either would scarcely be profitable. But the Quebec plan of government ownership of the liquor traffic has some

noteworthy features which its advocates regard as distinctive.

Taverns for the sale of beer have long been general throughout the province. The government alone, may buy or sell spirits and wine, and this through a commission. This commission is a very strong one, comprising five men—a banker, a judge, a manufacturer who was mayor of Quebec, and two former members of the House. They are appointed, and removable, by order in council and are paid large salaries. They control all licenses which they may cancel without giving reason. Public opinion seems to be that they have kept fairly free of that bane of such bodies, patronage. The premier, who passed the law accepts government responsibility for it and for its proper enforcement. Local autonomy is strictly respected, inasmuch as no government stores are authorized unless approved by the municipal council. Local option has in the main shown the municipalities to be adverse and the total of government stores does not exceed eighty, mostly in a few cities. No permits are required but not more than one bottle can be bought at a time. The purity of liquor is assured by analysis before being offered for sale. The first year's operations rendered a surplus of $4,000,000.

Quebec Saves Millions Yearly

During the present generation the financial condition of Quebec was one which created

much alarm in money circles. This is no longer the case. From a financial situation of the worst it has come to be of the very best. "We closed last year with a surplus of $5,000,000," says Premier Taschereau, "more than all the other provinces combined can show in five years." He also points out that the funded debt of Quebec is but $55,000,000 compared with Ontario's $240,000,000, notwithstanding that the latter is much more populous. The per capita debt is only $23, the nearest to it of the other provinces being $47 while the highest is $117. The per capita taxes run about $6.31.

While this old province has been carefully rehabilitating her finances, and conserving her resources, there have been evidences of recklessness in other quarters of which Premier Taschereau is frankly critical.

"The West is creating our national problems," he declares, "because having involved themselves heavily in subsidies to railways, we have been forced as a nation to take them over. Had we not done so the obligations to the Mackenzie and Mann roads would have bankrupted the West. We have had to pay for them after we built them.

"Now the West wants reduced rates while we, having paid for the roads naturally want to see them make both ends meet. This they are now far from doing.

"Moreover all the immigration goes west. No English farmers will come here. Spend

millions if you like for emigrants in the West but give us our share in cash to repatriate our people from New England and to encourage others to stay on the farm."

The premier also thinks that the loose talk of annexation which sometimes drifts in from the West is a poor encouragement for the older provinces to assume still further obligations for the newer provinces.

Leader of the Province

Hon. Mr. Taschereau is continuing, and perhaps amplifying the big programme of his predecessor Sir Lomer Gouin, and to the two are due in great measure some of the striking features of provincial policy. Sir Lomer for fifteen years held almost undisputed sway. In 1920 he retired voluntarily and was succeeded by the present premier, Hon. L. A. Taschereau. The latter bears an historic name, and has himself been in the legislature for a score of years. There was a Taschereau in the first legislature summoned to meet in Quebec after the capitulation, under the constitution drafted by William Pitt. Cardinal Taschereau exercised authority in the diocese created by the Great Louis in 1674. Another Taschereau was Chief Justice of Canada. The premier's father was a judge, and his grandfather sat on the bench, was mayor of Quebec, and governor of the province.

The people have the Frenchman's love for a great name and a great history and, once

given, their confidence is not readily withdrawn.

It would be well if other parts of Canada would even at some pains, come to know better this original native stock. The French-Canadian is divided from his English speaking countrymen by neither mountains nor a waste of seas. But other conditions establish a gulf quite as difficult to bridge, and the overcoming of these call for the exercise of patience and sagacity. Common ground is found with all other Canadians in the deep attachment of the men of Quebec to their land. This they love passionately, and for this they have on occasion bravely fought. To Canadian public life they have given some of its most distinguished members, to Canadian letters some of our most graceful writers and sweetest singers. A race of happy, frugal industrious, and God-fearing people occupy the homes that

Nestle in these vales
And perch along these wooded swells,
And blest' beyond Arcadian dales
They hear the sound of Sabbath bells.

It is a type slow to change its long established habits and which resists now, as it has always resisted, submersion in the continental trend. It multiplies rapidly, and because of that fact is bound to take an increasing part, relatively to other provinces, in the common life of all Canada. He does a disservice to the nation who unduly stresses the things which differ-

entiate the French Canadian from his English speaking brother, and who fails to recognize and chronicle his high moral qualities and sterling worth.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROBLEMS OF ONTARIO—INDOMITABLE PIONEERS—EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES—VIEWS ON PROHIBITION DIFFER—REAFFORESTATION PROBLEMS—COMBATTING RURAL DEPOPULATION—EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES—HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT—A NAPOLEON OF WATER POWERS—FINANCING ELECTRICAL DEVELOPMENT WEALTH OF NEW ONATRIO—VALUE OF MATERIALS INCALCULABLE.

THE province of Ontario has long held premier place among the states of the Dominion. First in population, in agricultural production, in mineral output, in manufactures, and (since the revision of her boundaries) second only to Quebec in extent, her senior position in the national family is readily conconceded.

These do not constitute her sole claim to greatness. The general interest which the story of Ontario evokes springs from a deeper source. From her, more than from any of the other provinces, came the men and women who, from Atlantic to Pacific, are doing today's work across the Dominion. She is Motherland to more of the present generation of Canadians than were the misty isles to

their fathers. Because her leaven has so profoundly influenced the life of the whole nation as well as her own, some of the elements which entered into the formative period in Ontario's history must be remembered in order to understand her influence in a later day and a larger sphere.

Her's was a meagre portion of the total population of sixty thousand souls which passed, with the conquest, under the British flag. Her principal waterways had been patrolled by Jesuit fathers, and by *coureurs de bois*, but only a few fur posts, forts, and missions marked where those tireless explorers had passed. Fifteen years later, the revolt of the thirteen colonies was to bring to the woods, and lake-shores of Ontario, as to the valley of the St. John and to the eastern townships, that great influx of British loyalists which so strongly influenced Canadian destiny. Their traditions became fixed principles, and their impulses, active policies. The war which drove them to Canada left them bitter memories against New England; the later revolution in France confirmed them in many post-war resentments which might otherwise have died. Ontario was for long aloof in its relations with the United States, and reluctant in its friendships with Quebec. An experiment, the last preceding the wise solution of Confederation, which sought to wed the peoples of the two provinces into one only resulted in what Lord Durham described as "two nations warring

in the bosom of a single state." However unfortunate in some respects, this undoubtedly made more tenacious and deep that British sentiment which so often awakens the wonder of even the British visitor.

Opinions formed under such conditions never lack vitality and these were passed on to succeeding generations, and in turn propagated with energy wherever their sons migrated.

They brought from their old homes certain other traits invaluable in giving fibre to the primitive life of Ontario. They carried with them the passion for religious liberty which led their fathers to this continent; though refusing to take part in the revolt, they shared the same instinct for political freedom which culminated in the Declaration of Independence. They had the racial aptitude for self-government, and capacity for adapting ancient forms to modern conditions. In this school their sons were reared, and these principles they practised whether they remained or migrated. Hundreds of new settlements throughout Canada have been organized out of the experience thus acquired by the early Ontario settlers, and transmitted to their sons.

Indomitable Pioneers

A Story of Co-operation and Service

A modern age which theorizes upon the principles of democracy, and which struggles, often vainly, to determine some basis of effective

co-operation may find much that is instructive in the customs of a day when the foundations of the province were being laid, and the character of its people shaped. In many communities the roof that sheltered every family, and the barn which housed its meagre stock and harvest, was raised by the voluntary co-operation of all the settlers. Every fallow was logged in the same way; every harvest gleaned by "changing works." Leadership in the woods lay with the best axemen. There were no classes nor castes. The wearer of homespun was content that he was overcoming an economic problem; the barefoot schoolboy conscious only of his freedom. The people did not prate of equality; they practised it. Into their homely duties they wove their social pleasures; and the paring bee, the spelling match, and the barn dance furnished a sufficient outlet for the gregarious in their natures. Community duties, serviceable, or judicial, were cheerfully and freely assumed. One carried the mail from town to all, and the inevitable duties of path master, fence viewer, school trustee, and local magistrate, were accepted as honorable toil for the common good. Fifty thousand miles of fine highways in Ontario of to-day have their chief foundation in the "statute labor" which every farmer gave for many years in the hot gravel pits, and on the concessions and sideroads of his province. Men so reared and so experienced could be trusted to adjust any political problem, whether

of family compact, clergy reserves, or "rep. by pop." with dispatch.

Theirs was a rich land, but the arable field was wrung toilsomely from the heavy bush. Industry and frugality were the conditions of even small successes as the gnarled hands and bent backs of the pioneers testified. But through each stage, up from the era of the log cabin, the blazed trail, and the logging fallow, through that of frame house, covered buggy, and self-binder to the modern condition of brick house, telephone, rural mail, and electric light and power, the latch string always hung outward from the door. Kindness and hospitality softened an era marked by stern duty and uncompromising toil.

There is little in the Ontario of to-day to recall the physical conditions of that time. Southern Ontario is an ordered, settled land, which, given oaks and hedgerows, might pass for an English countryside. The snake fence, and the unsightly stumps, which marked an earlier day, have disappeared with the men of whose labor they were the sign. Second growth wood lots are all that remain to remind the visitor of the forests of bird's-eye maple and curly birch which once clothed the land. Probably nowhere in the world do people live in greater comfort or security. That part of the province which long constituted the whole is difficult to surpass in pastoral beauty.

This condition has brought its problems. Land was originally acquired under easy con-

ditions. The clearing involved heavy toil, but the initial cost was small. When settlement became more advanced and land dearer the younger members of the family, eager for their own holdings, swarmed into the Guelph tract, or the Queen's bush, now Huron and Bruce, and there repeated the experiences and the achievements of their fathers. As their sons reached manhood, the great plains of the West offered them free homesteads without the difficulties of removing a bush. Thither they went in thousands, draining the old province of its young blood, and leading the wondering Indian of the plains to conclude that Canada "must be heap big place—specially Huron and Bruce."

That drain continues. Older Ontario has paid her full toll to the larger nation to the south. And she pays still. But accessions of territory now enable her to offer her sons quarter-section homesteads at fifty cents an acre, and farms in more remote parts, but still within her own boundaries, absolutely free. Ontario has, too, a system of pre-emption by proxy, not met with in other provinces, and with conditions that are little more onerous than personal settlement duties. Specialization in farming, and modern invention has led to smaller, rather then larger holdings, and these have helped to retain younger men. Half the milch cows of Canada are in Ontario, and its pure-bred and thoroughbred stock, while helping to make the province famous,

and fertile, has also been useful in furnishing an interesting specialty for the energies and ambitions of the present generation.

Educational Facilities

To education a first place has always been given, even in the days of bitter penury, and Ontario's schools, colleges and universities have long been famous. The extension of both technical and agricultural work in affiliation with the higher seats of learning, has had not only a high cultural value, but again has helped to furnish the youth of to-day with avenues of education and usefulness of which they would otherwise have been denied, or have been forced to seek elsewhere. In this connection also, many bitter and prolonged disputes have arisen over the operation of Separate Schools as already referred to in the Quebec article. In Ontario the right to form Separate schools, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, dates from 1841. Over twenty years later, in 1863, an Act was passed restoring some, and giving additional facilities, and this law the Catholics regard as the charter of their educational privileges. The right to form Protestant Separate schools where the teacher of the public school is a Catholic, still exists, and has been exercised in some cases. The provisions of the Act of 1863 are protected by clause 93 of the B.N.A. Act, which gives exclusive power over education to the province, excepting that rights conferred upon religious minorities prior

to confederation cannot be "prejudicially affected." This clause was put in to protect the Protestant schools of Quebec, and was so worded as to apply to the Catholic schools in Ontario.

The Separate schools, therefore, are a fixed part of the elementary school system. Their financial upkeep is provided by those Roman Catholics who voluntarily agree to support them, and from a definite share, on the basis of school attendance, of the legislative grants. They are under the same regulations, except for religious instruction, as the public schools. Their inspectors are appointed by the government. They accept, for the most part, the text books used in public schools. Their teachers (by a decision of the Privy Council) must hold the same certificates and undergo the same professional training as public school teachers. The academic standing of Separate school teachers is generally good, and many hold university degrees. The schools are efficient. The right to establish them is usually only exercised in localities where Catholics are numerous; in other places the children of Catholic parents attend the nearest public school. There are about 30,000 Catholics in public schools. No Roman Catholic ratepayer is obliged by law to support a Separate school; he must give notice if he desires to do so. No Protestant can legally pay his taxes to a Roman Catholic Separate school.

The so-called French schools are chiefly Separate schools. Regulation 17, about which

a fierce controversy raged for a time, is designed to make the teaching of English compulsory, but it concedes French as a language of instruction in the first form, a period of about two years. Where necessary French may be used in later years. It also provides for one hour per day of French in each class room as a subject of study. In the western and northern parts of the province the regulation is generally accepted; in Ottawa and in the counties of Prescott and Russell, objection is made to it.

Views on Prohibition Differ

How to curtail the consumption of liquor is not a problem peculiar to any one province. In Ontario it probably began at the first logging bee and the first fall fair, and it has been a problem ever since. Ontario tried a form of local option in the Dunkin Act, and later in the Scott Act. Local option, which has long been a favourite in Quebec, failed to satisfy the people of Ontario, and in 1919, by an overwhelming majority, the people ratified a prohibition law passed three years previously by the legislature. Quebec, as has already been seen, preferred government control and sale. Seven years of operation in Ontario has failed to standardize public sentiment on the subject. The ex-premier, Mr. Drury, is a warm supporter and defender of the measure, while his successor, Mr. Ferguson is popularly supposed to be less enamored of it. The

former thinks its continued operation will result in a steady improvement in conditions such as, he claims, have resulted already from its enforcement.

Reafforestation Problems

The preservation of its remaining timber, and the reafforestation on a big scale of large tracts in old Ontario is occupying a large space in the activities of the authorities at present. Reafforestation in some instances is not alone an effort to grow more timber. It is necessary to bind the land. The soil-blowing which is encountered in some of the arid parts of the West, the penalty for working the humus out of the soil, is being duplicated in some parts of Ontario and is the outcome of recklessly denuding sandy tracts of all their timber growth. The province is now making it possible for municipalities to acquire these areas as sites for municipal forests. The government will replant the land and administer it through its forestry department at the expense of the municipality. A nursery of 25,000,000 trees is already available for this work.

Provincial administration having been under the direction of a farmer government for several years, provincial policies have taken, in consequence, certain forms. Of these few have aroused as much interest and comment as the road policy. This plan was an attempt to meet the demand for roads suitable for motor traffic, by a comprehensive scheme, which

would anticipate in one year's work the ordinary expansions of several. To obtain the necessary funds for this ambitious highway project, the receipts from the registration of motor vehicles was capitalized setting aside $2,000,000 per year, which will provide a sinking fund of $25,000,000 returnable in twenty years with interest and sinking fund charges. The motor licenses this year so far have amounted to $4,4000,000.

Under this plan, the province assumes the cost of the main highways, the county councils of the main roads of local market travel, and the townships of the less travelled roads. The province contributes liberally to the upkeep of the last two classes, but it aims to make the main thoroughfares wide, surfaced avenues suitable for modern traffic. There are nearly 2,000 miles of these roads—some in every county—now controlled by the government. Within eight miles of this system ninety-two per cent. of the people of the province live.

Combatting Rural Depopulation

This was one factor in the plan to arrest rural depopulation. Rural credits on a liberal scale was another. A third was a liberal education for every man on the land, and for this purpose the grants for rural schools have been trebled. It involved the ideal of "an educated man on every farm."

Although the so-called farmer government of Ontario evolved its policy with special re-

ference to rural conditions and feelings, former Premier Drury has always been at some pains to deprecate its being regarded as a class movement. The farms of Ontario he regarded as its greatest asset, and the farmers as the trustees of that asset. His was a policy of the land, he was fond of saying, as opposed to a policy of industrialism, and it contemplated stopping the depopulation of rural parts, making life more desirable on the farm, and increasing the rewards of agricultural toil, so that farmers might enjoy a standard of living fitting for men of our race. "We want men on the land," he said, "that not only know how to make a living, but who know how to live." The farm situation, he thought, was being lost sight of in a desire to help the cities, a practice in which even Hydro development shared. The farmer, he insisted, was always a builder, and from the settlement days had taken a large part in the constructive work of township and county councils. Every man who owned a farm looked to the future, and he was always for good roads.

For his great concern was in the roads. "I believe," said ex-Premier Drury, speaking to a great gathering of his supporters, "that the problem of rural prosperity is tightly bound up with the problem of primary transportation. I believe that the best way to keep the boy on the farm is to afford him the means of getting off it."

The policy was severely criticized by those opposed to the government as being too ex-

pensive, and as a new government is now in power, the roads system outlined above will doubtless come under sharp scrutiny, and possibly be modified or discontinued.

Exploitation of Resources

Speaking to *MacLean's* shortly after assuming office, Hon. Mr. Ferguson, the new prime minister of Ontario, summarized the task before him as follows:

"The problems that confront a community like Ontario are not of a simple nature, but are complicated by a diversity of interests and conditions and also by many commitments already entered into. The outstanding problem of the province in my opinion, is the systematic and energetic development and conservation of its natural resources so as to give stability and permanence to productive activity in every field of enterprise. The province is richly endowed by nature and has vast stores of potential wealth. I do not consider that the mere exploitation of these resources, regardless of the future, will tend to insure the lasting welfare and prosperity of the province. What we require is an intelligent and consistent policy in the management of our heritage which has been entrusted to us, not only for our own use but for the use of those who will come after. We in Ontario have all the natural opportunities for establishing and maintaining a great and prosperous commun-

ity which will always be the keystone of the national edifice in Canada. At the same time, we have an energetic and intelligent population full of faith in the country and keenly alive to the value of British institutions.

"In order to allow us to apply the labor of our people more fully and more successfully to the resources of the country, we require, from time to time, the wisely directed investment of capital. As everyone knows, capital requires a large return where its tenure is insecure, while on the other hand it is satisfied with a moderate yield when it is assured of permanence and safety. These latter conditions are those to which a well-governed community will aspire.

"To insure such conditions it is necessary from time to time to have a thorough stock-taking of the resources of the country, and a careful survey to insure that they are being utilized and conserved to the best advantage. These resources are not only the forests and mines, great as they are in the case of Ontario, but the water powers which provide energy for industrial production, and above all the fertility of the soil, upon which depends the success of agriculture.

"When we have done all that can humanly be accomplished to utilize and perpetuate all these resources, we will have insured the prosperity of the whole community and will have solved most of the problems of government

which are incidental to our progress and development."

Hydro Electric Development

Premier Ferguson's reference to one of Ontario's great resources in her magnificent water powers brings up the Hydro electric system of Ontario which has been the outstanding development in the province during the last decade and a half. It is the outcome of a dual demand for light and power at a reasonable cost. It was made possible by the availability of the famous falls of Niagara. Long the scenic wonder of the world, they have in recent years enjoyed almost equal fame as a torch which lights provinces and states, and as a great dynamo which furnishes them with almost unlimited power. The poet Moore, when he visited Niagara, marvelled at "its ineffable wonders," and pitied the man who could "submit them to the admeasurement of gallons and yards." Had he lived in a modern day he might have changed his pity to admiration not only of the falls made doubly beautiful at night by self-illumination, but of the men who made possible this marvel, by their "admeasurement" of volts and kilowatts.

The increase in population and in industrial expansion in Ontario in the latter days of the nineteenth century forced upon the province problems which gave it deep concern. The wealth of hardwoods which originally covered

the province, and which had been the principal domestic fuel, had disappeared before pioneer's axe and lumberman's saw until only a tenth of the country remained wooded. Modern industry was demanding coal and oil. Of the latter Ontario had little, and of the former none. Canadians noted with alarm that population and industry were centreing in those parts of the continent which were underlaid with coal. To these fleets of water carriers and long trains of freight brought unceasing tribute from the ore deposits of the world. For expansion, therefore, Ontario must depend on imported anthracite, with its freight and tariff imposts.

Then came the discovery of electricity, its generation by water power, and finally its transmission by constantly expanding distances to points remote from its source. By the beginning of this century, Niagara was producing 400,000 horse power. Canadian development lagged somewhat. It received its first impetus, as Mr. E. B. Biggar points out, in his admirable brochure on the subject, in a curious way. It is hard for the modern visitor to believe that forty years ago access to the falls was possible only by running the gauntlet of petty pirates, who sometimes employed violence on the persons of non-complaisant travellers. It was the presence of these "hucksters, pedlars, and sharpers," which drew such a remonstance from Lord Dufferin in 1878 and led him to suggest to

the Governor of New York a common park owned by the two governments and providing access to, and an unimpeded view of the falls from both sides of the river.

The present parks were the result. The Canadian one consists of over a thousand acres, and cost over half a million dollars. When the authorites had exorcised the harpies who formerly preyed on the public, they found themselves with a beautiful park but with no revenues to maintain it. After various other attempts they finally resorted to leasing their water powers. The evolution of the electrical industry and the fact that much the larger volume of water passes over the Canadian falls, soon brought them customers.

These, at first, were private companies, which gradually pushed their service zones back until they were into Toronto and Hamilton. When engineers began predicting that the gorge of the Niagara would ultimately be a gallery of power stations serving a third of the people of the continent, the possibilities of the falls began to fire public imagination. The Ontario taxpayer was led to ask why a fall which had been free to him as a spectacle should not be equally free (except for carrying charges) as a source of heat, light, and power. This the more, as private companies were appropriating this boon, and selling it. The late Sir James Whitney who had a gift for expressive and sometimes explosive utterance declared that Niagara should

be as free as the air, and available to all on equal terms and free from the exactions of private monopolists.

Meetings followed among representatives of the municipalities, and finally a commission was created of which Mr. (now Sir Adam) Beck was the vigorous head. Its function is to develop, generate, transmit and distribute electric energy at cost to the municipalities of the province. The municipalities purchase power at a rate which includes cost of power, interest and sinking fund, charges on transmission, and distribution, operation and maintenance expenses. The government receives fair interest on its advances. The capital expenditure is intended to be recovered through sinking fund charges, and ultimately returned to the government when the municipalities will nominally own the system.

A Napoleon of Water Powers

Of this commission Sir Adam Beck is the soul. Self willed, but efficient, he has secured the confidence in a remarkable degree of the people of the country. But his large powers, and their free exercise create a constant problem to the responsible ministers of the Crown who have to answer for commitments which they cannot control.

The development, accelerated by an energetic commission and by the clamor of the public for its service, has been phenomenal. It commenced in 1910 with a distribution

of 1,000 horse power. In five years it had reached 100,000 horse power and was supplying 120,000 customers in 112 urban municipalities and 18 townships. By 1921 it was supplying 300,000 horse power to 265,000 customers in 234 urban municipalities and 44 townships. This year it is distributing, including exported power, 600,000 horse power. Since commencing, the board has bought 20 water powers, 30 hydraulic generating plants, and over 60 electrical distributing systems. It now operates power undertakings which, when developed will have a potentiality of over 1,000,000 horse power.

The investments of municipalities through the Hydro connections stand in excess of $225,000,000.

Over half the population of the province is now served with power and light generated on the escarpment of the Niagara gorge. It is claimed that nowhere in the world is such general use made of electricity as in the homes of Ontario.

To the general comfort which this cheap power and light affords must be added other advantages. During the war when sharp restrictions were imposed on the use of coal, the hydro emancipated the big plants of Ontario and released them for munition making in which they made such a distinct contribution to the cause of the Allies. How large that coal bill would have been even had the coal been available may be judged from the fact

that it required 5,000,000 tons of bituminous coal to develop 250,000 horse power. In 1919 the cost of that quantity of coal was estimated at $40,000,000.

Though the commission is still acquiring and developing other powers. Niagara will probably always be its principal supply, even when the rapids of the St. Lawrence are harnessed. It is in the vicinity of the falls that its most expensive and most spectacular activities are carried on. Not content with the head developed at the falls, the commission has dug a canal over eight miles long from the cataract to a forebay excavated in the cliff above Queenston, with a power house in the gorge below it. This utilizes a head of 305 feet. The roof of the building on the forebay is 150 feet above the river. Forty times as many men were employed in its construction, as Brock, whose monument stands near, commanded in the battle which has made the Heights famous. Fifty locomotives and 82 miles of standard gauge railway were required in this work.

Financing Electric Development

Legislation passed in 1913 provides for an even more ambitious outgrowth of this development. It permits the commission to father an elaborate system of electric radials, as approved by municipalities.

The costs are covered by debenture issues, on the credit of the municipalities affected,

but guaranteed by the government. So general has been the application for these extensions that already 25,000 miles of electric railway have been surveyed by the commission, while proposals aggregating in cost $52,000,000 have been endorsed by by-law.

The commission consists of three members, appointed for life by the government of the day.

It may be surmised that an independent body, exercising these large powers, and committing elective bodies to huge expenditures over which the latter have small control, has led, to some friction. The province conferred these large powers to get away from patronage, and from some of the other large loose motions of democracy which are among its most distinctive marks. But it gave almost mandatory powers for securing money from the provincial treasury to a body not responsible to the people. The Drury government challenged the whole position. The complaint of the then premier was that original cost estimates were grossly exceeded, that at Niagara jumping from $10,000,000 to $60,000,000. He was alarmed at the extent of Beck's radial plans, which that official admitted would ultimately involve an expenditure of $200,000,000. The municipal bonds were to be used to meet deficits. But a previous experience in Ontario showed that the attempt of governments to collect from municipal bodies has always met with indifferent success. Mr. Drury also pointed out that these radial electric lines

would be brought into competition with railways no longer owned by private corporations but by the nation. The proposal, he declared, was to set up a system of municipally owned, provincially guaranteed tramlines, in competition with Dominion steam roads.

He further complained that of a provincial debt of $100,000,000 the sum of $40,000,000 had been advanced in cash or securities to the commission. So he held up these enterprises. Then a political gale blew and a new king reigned in his stead. And in the cabinet of the new ruler, Sir Adam Beck has a seat. It is safe to say that the last chapter of Hydro has not been written.

Wealth of New Ontario

The new north of Ontario furnishes the other romantic and alluring factor in the story of the old province. A great access of territory in recent years has carried its boundaries far up to the shores of Hudson's Bay, and has given its people a new outlook and a new character. This has altered more than Onttario's physical form. By providing a fresh outlet for energy it has furnished a needed stimulus to youthful enterprise. By its mineral development it has enlarged the horizon of its people. It has restored to this generation the frontier, and the forest primeval, which enfibred its ancestors.

Much of the future of Ontario will lie across the thousand miles of its height of land, and

northward to the Bay. Here now are her woods. Here also will lie her treasure house. Northern Ontario is four times as large as southern Ontario, and though by reason of its character and its latitude it will never acquire the rural beauty of the older section, its wealth producing power is almost limitless. It has potential forests of 50,000,000 acres. Stretching away to James Bay is an empire of spruce and poplar pierced by turbulent rivers with a million and a half of horse power. The right to regulate head-water storage and flow is reserved by the government. The district of Patricia alone has 600 miles of shore line and is bigger than the British Isles. Abundant fish swarm in these northern waters. The T. and O. railway is within a hundred miles of an almost unknown sea with 2,000 miles of shore line. At Moose Factory, harborage for ships of twenty foot draught can be secured. Here the great rafts will be boomed and the water powers chained either to convert the timber into merchantable material or to drive the locomotives that will transport it to market. Moose Factory will be a base for coasting steamers and tugs within a Bay where internal navigation is possible from June to November.

Value of Minerals Incalculable

Interesting as will be this development, it will probably be surpassed by mineral production. In less than a quarter of a century this country, much of it forbidding and in-

hospitable, has raised Ontario, minerally, from a position of insignificance to one of pre-eminence. Eighty per cent. of the world's nickel has long come from Sudbury. Since its discovery in 1904 Cobalt has produced $195,000,000 in silver—ten times what it cost to extend the T. and O. into that country. It has paid $90,000,000 to its shareholders. Since 1911 $45,000,000 of gold has been taken out of northern Ontario and $15,000,000 paid in dividends. To-day Ontario leads all Canada in precious metals. Equally favorable conditions, geologically, exist through to tidal water in the north.

The zeal for systematic progress which has marked the whole history of Ontario will find a new outlet in the exploratory and development work involved in opening up new Ontario. It will modify the tastes and standards, and definitely affect the character of the people. Mining and manufactures have been superimposed upon the agricultural life of old Ontario. But agriculture is likely to be more of a by-product of lumbering and mining in new Ontario. The industries mentioned will provide an attractive and accessible market for what the farms of the north produce. Experience with Hydro is likely to be capitalized in harnessing the stupendous water powers of the north. The experience of the Cobalt, Porcupine, and Kirkland camps will be utilized in the newer fields to accelerate production. The aid of science will be invoked to eliminate prospecting

in non-productive areas and to concentrate it where geological conditions are more favorable. The element of chance will be greatly reduced. Aviation will lend its guidance and aid in survey work, reducing its drudgery, abolishing distance, and saving time. The completion of the T. and O. railway to James Bay will lead to the creation of new bases for exploration for fishing, mineral, timber, and agricultural wealth.

In fact, new Ontario offers to old Ontario that complement of opportunity to its wealth, its energy, and its population that Canada furnished the Motherland a century ago, without the cruel disabilities of slow and expensive travelling over wide intervening seas. To the world it offers what has tempted hardy bands of adventurers to every new field, namely the glamor and the lure of the unknown.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PROBLEMS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA—FRONTIER AGAINST YELLOW RACE—VARYING SOCIAL INFLUENCES—THE GOLD RUSH EPOCH—POLITICAL SCHISMS—WEALTH OF NATURAL RESOURCES—EVER PRESENT ORIENTAL PROBLEM.

BRITISH COLUMBIA is a province physically apart. Nature, so often perverse, has thrown serious obstacles across the pathways of communication between the old lower province and the maritimes. She has strewn even more formidable ones between the frontiers of older Ontario, and the fertile lands of the west. In both these instances, however, there have been left compensations—in one, the easy trail of the St. Lawrence, in the other the broad, deep, highways of great inland seas.

But between British Columbia, and the rest of Canada she has reared a barrier, which in the formative periods of the life of the Pacific province was almost insuperable. Destiny gave to this province a form which seemed to foreordain her to a separate existence, or to affiliations southward, instead of toward the East. It is less than forty years since access to the west of Canada could be gained only by a long

water route, or by a journey through American territory.

But this remoteness from the principal centres of Canada did not breed insularity, for British Columbia contacts were with almost every continent. All the Canadian provinces, excepting Prince Edward Island touch a foreign frontier, border international waters, or share access, directly, or by tributary and navigable streams to the Atlantic. British Columbia, too, joins her frontiers with those of the United States. But she also monopolizes the Canadian seaboard on the Pacific. Until Alaska passed from Russian control, British Columbia's northern areas bordered those of a great European and Asiatic empire, and her hardy sons were in almost constant conflict during the pelagic sealing season, with Muscovite gunboats, and guards on the Pribyloffs. Many a Victoria seal hunter languished, in consequence, in a Russian prison, while his schooner lay

"A rotting contraband
"on a Vladivostock slip."

British Columbia was compelled seriously to dispute with a powerful American neighbor her boundaries, north, west, and south. The outcome of the latter transferred the flag from the Columbia river, to the 49th parallel. Seaward her territorial waters finally were charted inside the San Juan islands. In the north, arbitration drove her back from the headlands

which guarded the natural approach to her interior sources of wealth.

The external relationships and problems of the province therefore have always been sufficiently cosmopolitan to give her horizons as wide as those of any province in Confederation and wider than some.

Frontier Against Yellow Race

Modern changes are rapidly expanding that horizon. British Columbia flanks a sea that is becoming to the twentieth century what the Atlantic was to the nineteenth, and what the Mediterranean was to an earlier era. It is the Imperial outpost on the American littoral of that ocean, and Canada's interpreter to Asia, in problems which are no longer territorial, or soluble by courts of arbitration. The questions involved are much more delicate and vital. British Columbia is one of the last frontiers of the white race against the yellow and brown. It is a land where a hoary civilization meets a modern one, and where the swarming millions of ancient peoples, stung into restless life by modern events, are constantly impinging on an attractive land held by sparse thousands of whites. And here, the alarmed British Columbian, clamorous for Asiatic exclusion, feels that he is taking the long view, and his fellow countrymen in provinces less affected by the situation, the circumscribed one. In no part of the world is there greater need for the exercise of patience, sagacity, and courage,

than in that community of half a million souls which stands in the sea gate on the northwest Pacific, and holds it for Saxon civilization.

The Rockies did more than deny British Columbia intercourse with the rest of Canada. They were a prime factor in determining the distinctive British Columbia type. The original white stock came to her mainly from the south, or by the sea. True, Mackenzie, and Fraser, and others penetrated the far west from the Canadian side. But they were mostly explorers, or traders. The great bulk came through the avenues already mentioned.

Many came by the Horn. These were mainly English. They carried historic names to lonely islands of the Georgian archipelago, or to shacks and cabins in the forests, rocked gold from the gravel of the Cariboo creeks, established on the open prairie lands of Chilcotin estates which shamed the wide demesnes of their ancestors, laid their trap lines in the wilderness, trailed English ivy over the high fences which protect the glorious lawns of Victoria from the eye of the curious, and gave real significance to the first word in the provincial name.

That influence persisted, and left its mark on democratic government as it evolved from the autocracy of the Great Company. The White ensign which long flew at Esquimalt marked one base of influence; the garrison at Work Point another. The advent of the sappers and miners formed still another. These, and isolation from the rest of Canada, even after Con-

federation, combined to maintain fealty to the Motherland long after the affiliations of the province were nominally elsewhere.

Varying Social Influences

There were other factors, not so readily appreciated, which made the feeling of British Columbians to their American neighbors, more temperate and genial than might have been expected from the seeming injustice of the Alaska boundary award, or the rancor expressed in "fifty-four forty or fight." The British tradition which was brought to some other parts of Canada was a militant one, made resentful from the early experiences of the Revolutionary war, and embittered by its injustices. The first British stock in British Columbia was fortunately spared that experience. Theirs was a tender memory only of English downs and Scottish hills—a memory perpetuated in the roses which adorn thousands of gardens, and in the broom which blazes by so many roads and flames like a beacon on a score of headlands. Their sentiment of loyalty to their own land was unalloyed by hostile passion against another.

Social standards in British Columbia were early subjected to influences the effects of which are still discernible, and lacked others, which played a large part in moulding the early life of parts of eastern Canada. There has been no powerful, all-pervading church authority leaving its deep impress on the life

of the people, as in Quebec; no stern religious code such as came with both over-seas and Puritanic immigration. In its primitive condition, western society was too familar with the intimacies of the Hudson's Bay Company system with the life of the native to seriously protest against some things that were unconventional. Whether a factor or agent was merely a "squaw man" or had observed the legal forms of marriage, his official station was such as to render him immune from serious criticism. It was as hard to socially ban a high Company official as it is to hang a Fifth Avenue millionaire.

That condition, has, needless to say, been long outlived, but it played its part in qualifying the conventions of that day. Social standards are relative things, and while those of British Columbia may have been loose as compared with those of Nova Scotia, or Quebec, they were strict when contrasted with those of California. And the association of British Columbia with the Golden state was extremely close. Indeed the whole western coast has a community of sentiment which is still very active. The relations of cities like Portland and Seattle with Vancouver are as cordial as those of Boston with Halifax. San Francisco and Victoria were long complementary to one another. Victoria boys attended California universities. A Union club exists in both the cities named. Business firms had offices there, and here. Long before confeder-

ation a steamship line plied (as it still plies) between the two cities, and indeed its support by Federal subsidy was made one of the terms of Union. A university of California team plays English Rugby every Christmas day with a University of British Columbia team at Brockton Point, Vancouver. San Francisco was till late in the eighties the Mecca of northern youth, as Boston was of the Bluenose boys. And in an earlier day, while the lad from Nova Scotia visiting Boston would encounter culture in its native lair, the British Columbia boy in San Francisco was likely to include in his tour a trip to that badge of the wide open town, the unspeakable Barbary coast.

Here, too, as everywhere, the occupational life of the people was a real factor in determining their character. These were not a pastoral people. They were sailors, sealers, and whalers, lumbermen, trappers, range riders, and above all, and for many years, miners.

The Gold Rush Epoch

The trail of 'fifty-eight is everywhere upon the land. It marked the second, as fur trading was the first epoch, in provincial life. It stimulated roadbuilding, and here and there in the canyons of the Fraser, the trans-continental traveller seated in his easy chair in a parlor car may still descry far up on the cliff the remains of the historic old road that led to the diggings of Cariboo. Along it many eager gold seekers plodded, and around its dizzy curves the expert

"whips" of that famous stage line drove their terrified passengers. Daring skippers of river steamers pushed further and further up stream, like the salmon, and finally established the head of navigation at Yale. Between Lakes Harrison and Seton the decaying remnants may still be found of the first tramway in British Columbia over which the argonauts moved their scows and river boats on their way to Barkerville.

But the gold rush brought more consequences than these. It brought the tide of gold seekers who had been lured to California ten years earlier than by a similar excitement. And while Begbie was the stern upholder and enforcer of law in this period as Douglas had been in the days of the "Bay," society under such conditions could never be restrained within the limits possible in more ordered communities.

The rush to the Yukon (which while a separate territory, is naturally bracketted with British Columbia in these articles) and to Atlin and other camps has perpetuated more or less mildly the tradition of 'fifty-eight. Even lode mining, in which the province was long pre-eminent, has in it sufficient of the gambling element to attract the adventurous and the daring. Railway construction work, drawing to it the flotsam of three continents, contributed factors which were anything but stabilizing in the life of the province.

In fact railway construction of the C. P. R. under Onderdonk and the gold rush in the

late 'fifties are mainly responsible for another and more menacing factor, in the form of the Oriental, to which later reference will be made. The influx of the people until recent years, was rarely, if ever, to occupy and develop land but chiefly to follow hazardous pursuits, with their big possibility of rewards. Routine toil in prosaic callings had no attraction for this roving type. In the seventies it led him to allude to eastern Canadians as "North American Chinamen" in slighting reference to their industry and frugality.

Political Schisms

Perhaps nothing could more graphically illustrate the lack of community of thought with the rest of Canada than this trifling fact. Even the political party system—a rather pervasive thing—long failed to surmount the Rockies. There were no party lines in the British Columbia legislature until a quarter of a century ago, and then their introduction was a matter more of expediency than of conviction. There are no historic political families like the Tuppers of Nova Scotia or the Taschereaus of Quebec. Partizanship in British Columbia to-day is an exotic, tended by hands which two decades ago would have been called foreign, because they came from east of the Rocky Mountains. Political opinion is not held so uncompromisingly, nor religious opinion with such fervor as in older Canada. There is no religious problem. There are no Separate

Schools. The British Columbian has been prone to boast that he has no bigotry; his critics to deplore that he has no profound religious convictions.

But it is only the aftermath of all this that remains. The Rockies have been conquered, and with them the problems which they did so much to create. The scream of the first locomotive in the mountains, which Joe Howe predicted his generation would live to hear, carried the reveillé of Canadianism to tidewater on the Pacific.

To-day British Columbia is a stout Canadian province, a little impatient, sometimes, of Ottawa rule because often made sensible of its mental as well as its geographical remoteness. The Pacific province is keenly interested in Canada's future and her own part in it. But in its life sometimes disclosed on platform or in press, there survives an attitude of mind which had its origin in the Hudson's Bay regime, in the influence of the gold rush and in certain topographical facts of which some identity of interest and some community of thought with the coastal states of the Republic, are the direct result.

The physical factors which contributed to form the character and affiliations of British Columbians, have also helped to create their problems. No province in the whole Dominion is so costly to administer. On its eastern boundary, the Rockies with an average altitude of 8,000 feet form a granite wall between

which and the Selkirk range runs a great alpine plateau, from which the peaks of the Selkirks emerge. Lower still and lying between the Selkirks and the Coast range is the dry belt, and dropping to sea level westward, the deltas, and flats of the coast region. There is thus a range from absolute sea level with heavy precipitation and luxurious growth stimulated by the mild influence of the Japanese current to elevations of thousands of feet, with heavy snowfall and intermediate elevations arid in character which yield richly to irrigation. The great gorges which traverse all these regions add to the staggering cost of road building. Municipalities sometimes stand on end. The shortest distance between two points is sometimes round two sides of a triangle, or three sides of a square. Land clearing in the rank growing areas of the coast is costly; irrigation in the dry areas often difficult and expensive. The matter of bridges alone is serious. Education is necessarily high, the average cost per pupil being $104 annually—two, and even three times as much as in some other provinces. The government itself spends nearly $3,000,000 on its schools. The premier bluntly declares that this is a problem which must be adjusted. "We are keeping our children in school too long," he declares, "and are teaching them two many fads."

These problems present themselves principally in the southern part of the province. It is this portion with which the visitor is

most familar. Those who regard British Columbia as a sea of mountains need to be reminded that these mountains fall away rapidly to the north, and that where they are crossed by the Canadian National Railways in the Yellowhead Pass, which is in central British Columbia, they have lost the rugged grandeur which marks them further south. Northward from Chilcotin, through Francois lake, Nechaco and Bulky river valleys and on to the Peace river lies a marvellous open, and semi-prairie region in which cattle browse breast high in wild pea vine, and which is fast becoming the cattle range country of the west.

Wealth of Natural Resources

Mountain and sea combine to give grandeur to western scenery. But they yield wealth as well. In minerals British Columbia comes second only to Ontario; her $35,000,000 output annually being twenty per cent. of that of the whole Dominion. The fishery catch is $22,000,000 which is half that of the whole Dominion. Canada has a complicated task in preserving these fisheries, particularly those of the halibut banks and the salmon streams, for action to preserve the fish is largely conditional on U. S. co-operation, and this is not always easy to secure.

The forests are the most valuable in the world. The rank undergrowth of the coast reduces the fire risk, while the moist climate induces rapid reafforestation by natural growth.

British Columbia lumber industry last year yielded over $64,000,000. Agriculture which is developing most remarkably of all the callings amounted to almost as much. Land is available on a pre-emption basis practically free of charge while there is a small fee for fishermen's homesites which, as a rule, run to an average of about twenty acres.

In spite of these developments there has been dissatisfaction that the population has not exceeded the present figures which are somewhat over the half million mark. And successive governments have been insistent on a revision of the terms of Confederation to assure British Columbia of larger Federal grants. In this the late Sir Richard McBride had some successes the result being a gratifying addition to this subsidy. But during the past two or three years effort has been largely focused on an adjustment of the freight rates which, it is held, are discriminatory in their incidence as applied to British Columbia. This has been especially noticeable in connection with the hauling of wheat to the Pacific coast, and is now forming the subject of a very determined campaign by the business interests of the coast, Premier Oliver himself having taken up the case.

The protest came to a head, following the action of the Board of Railway commissioners in 1920 in granting a general increase of railway rates, of thirty-five per cent. west of Fort William and forty per cent. east of that point. Western rates already being much higher than

eastern, Manitoba appealed to the Privy Council that the increase be rescinded. The Privy Council recommended an inquiry with a view of equalizing rates. British Columbia applied to have the mountain scale of 100 miles for 150 on the prairie equalized, and the commissioners compromised by reducing the scale to a basis of 100, to 125. British Columbia is now pressing for the full equalization.

The matter acquires great significance because of the opening of the Panama canal, and the demand that the railways recognize its economic value in marketing Alberta and Sascatchewan wheat in Europe, via that route. Coast cities are making a strong bid for this trade, and elevators capable of handling 3,000,000 bushels are either erected or projected on Burrard Inlet. Starting as late as two years ago when half a million bushels were shipped via Vancouver the trade has grown till this year it is anticipated that 20,000,000 bushels will be carried by the western route. Vancouver is only 800 miles from the average Alberta point while Fort William is 1,200 miles, yet the rate is practically the same each way. It is this discrimination that British Columbia is now fighting vigorously to overcome.

Last year, in spite of the rate handicap it was found possible to ship Alberta wheat via Vancouver to Britain for fifty-two cents a bushel, while the same service via the eastern route cost sixty-three cents. Although the

significance of these figures was somewhat qualified by the combine on the Great Lakes, which increases the east-bound charges unduly, the westerners have a good offset to that in the discrimination under which they still suffer, and the fact that local rates from the coast to inland points have not yet been adjusted to meet similar rates from the Atlantic side. When this is done, it will insure return cargoes from Britain through the Panama to cities on the Canadian Pacific coast, for distribution from the western rather than the eastern seaboard, and corresponding easement of the return rate for grain to Liverpool. In other words it is a fight to compel the railroads to establish an East *and* West system of distribution instead of an East *to* West one as heretofore. To westerners it means a conversion of a back door of trade into a front door. How revolutionary its effect will be on continental as well as internal Dominion traffic can be easily appreciated.

Premier Oliver in presenting this case bases his position on the equity of treatment which was promised all provinces under Confederation. He claims that the treatment of British Columbia has been consistently in violation of that principle. The Pacific province, when it entered the Dominion, was under Colonial office rule. The Imperial government in its dispatch to the Governor urged British Columbia to enter the Dominion, pointed out

the benefits of co-operation and emphasized the dangers of trying to arrange internal transport by negotiation between separate and perhaps rival governments instead of by a central one. Mr Oliver claims that in the end the British Columbia government contributed 14,550,000 acres as a subsidy—double what had first been arranged; that other parts of the programme were disregarded, and that an unfair system of rates was permitted which aggravated the discrimination of which he complains. He makes the plea that British Columbia deliberately attempted to overcome the difficulty by heavily bonusing the Canadian Northern Railway, in return for which that road was to remain under provincial jurisdiction, and was to permit provincial control of its rates. The latter road, by adopting the Yellowhead route, originally intended to be followed by the C. P. R. has secured a four-tenths grade from the prairies to the sea, thus removing the old objection of an expensive mountain haul. But by declaring the C. N. R. a road for the general advantage of Canada, the Federal government at one stroke deprived British Columbia of the competition in rates it desired, and perpetuated the injustice of which it complains.

This is the case which the province is now spending a large sum of money to establish with the federal authorities. It constitutes one of two or three momentous questions the

outcome of which will profoundly affect the future of the province.

The prairie provinces are vitally affected because in the event of the concessions being granted they will have an ice-free port the year round, with but one wheat elevation instead of three, and a corresponding addition to the value of their grain.

Perhaps anxiety over the outcome of this application is the greater because the province has a railway of its own which constitutes one of its most acute problems. It is difficult to discuss the details connected with the construction and operation of this road, without an excursion into much that at present is highly controversial. There is some difference of opinion as to where the blame should be apportioned; there is none with regard to the seriousness of the situation.

Briefly, the Pacific Great Eastern was a railway projected from Vancouver to Fort George, a distance approximately of 450 miles. It was sponsored by the late Sir Richard McBride, was started in 1912 and was to have been finished in 1915. Originally it was to have been built by a firm of railway contractors who gave bonds for its completion and operation. The province in turn guaranteed these bonds to the extent of $35,000 a mile. The promoter was the chief counsel in the west of the G. T. P. and part of the undertaking was that at Fort George the freight over the G. T. P.

destined for Vancouver was to be diverted over the new line.

The road to-day is incomplete. It has been taken over by the province from the contractors. About $40,000,000 has been sunk in the enterprise, and it is losing half a million yearly on operation account, whereas it needs a surplus of over two million dollars annually over all charges to meet interest obligations. The authorities frankly do not know what to do with it. Rehabilitated and extended to the Peace river, with incidental mineral development along the right of way, it might ultimately pay. The premier thinks that if the western grain trade develops to require the double tracking of coast bound roads as it has the roads to the Great Lakes, relief may come from that quarter. But at the present it constitutes one of the most staggering public ownership projects ever assumed by half a million people.

The electorate are somewhat wiser after the event, but the building of the road was in part at least, the outcome of the heedless optimism which studded the West with townsites, and carried its people off their feet in a riot of boom speculation. That optimism reached its flower a few years before the war, and strangely enough affected visitors as acutely as natives. That it was not wholly unjustified there are already signs. It was founded on the belief that once the climatic and scenic attractions of the far west were known, it would become the ob-

ject of a pilgimage as great as that which has built a great city at Los Angeles in the midst of a dust-blown area. The enterprise of the coast states has built a paved roadway practically the whole distance from Vancouver, New Westminster, and Victoria to the Mexican boundary, a distance of 1,800 miles. Auto camps, with hot and cold water, cooking ranges, wood, shelter, electric light, and every other facility for making a family comfortable over night, mark this great highway at regular intervals and make it as frequented in summer as a city street. It is estimated that the tourist trade for this year will mean $40,000,000 to B. C. while the completion of about 70 miles of auto road through the mountains next year will prolong the highway mentioned, to Winnipeg, and enormously enhance the volume of this trade. The enthusiasts are finding a more practical expression for their confidence than in trading corner lots.

Ever Present Oriental Problem

They are finding, too, that scenery can be made profitable from more grounds than that of a spectacle. Already 305,000 of the 5,000,000 horse-power running to riotous waste down western mountains has been harnessed, bringing the province next to Ontario and Quebec in this regard, and helping to make possible the $240,000,000 of manufactured products which was its output last year.

But greater than any of these questions, in the judgment of many, is the difficulty which the province meets with in handling the immigration of Orientals. For seventy or eighty years the Chinese have been flocking to British Columbia shores. For half that time the Japanese have been immigrating. There are perhaps 40,000 of the former and 18,000 of the latter now in the province. Female Chinese have not come in large numbers. But Japanese women come in equal numbers with the men. As a result where eleven years ago the Japanese birth rate was one to 252 whites it is now one to thirteen whites. Orientals have captured the salmon trade on the Fraser and are rapidly absorbing the berry growing industry in the environs of Vancouver, as they have the hothouse trade in Victoria.

Orientals own or lease nearly 30,000 acres of land in the province. Close to half the grocery licenses in Vancouver are issued to them.

It is with reference to the Japanese that the greatest alarm is felt. They are not disposed to accept a secondary position to the whites, either socially or commercially, and they press with much vigor for political recognition. This they are excluded from in British Columbia though in few other provinces. The private law of Japan seems clearly to refuse to release any of its subjects whether born at home or abroad, from citizenship in their Empire even though they may have become naturalized, unless by special per-

mission of the government at Tokio. This would seem a good reason for which to refuse both naturalization and the franchise.

British Columbia has always been keenly alive to this question and at its first meeting after confederation the legislature passed a resolution asking that Federal attention be given the matter. It has passed scores of statutes since then, many of which have been disallowed at Ottawa, as being against national policy. It is quite plain that unless action is soon taken to prohibit the immigration of the Oriental, he will have gained such a strong position that his future treatment will call for the exercise of more patience and forbearance than is likely to be shown. This is easily the greatest problem of British Columbia; Eastern Canadian opinion is nebulous on the subject, and hence governmental action limps and lags.

In this, the last of the strictly provincial chapters, a reference is proper to great semi-organized territories like the Yukon, Atlin and the Peace, each in themselves important enough in both area and resources to some day be created into provinces. No one presumes that the gold resources of the Klondike have yet been exhausted; many predict that our greatest wheat fields will yet wave in the valley of the Peace. In the latter district the district of Pouce Coupe divides with Fort Norman the interest of oil experts, but both must wait the advent of transportation. Men like James

Cornwall insist that the wheat areas of the Peace river country exceed in extent the combined acreage now under cultivation for that cereal throughout the middle west. Gold, coal, oil, and wheat— these are basic resources in the territories mentioned, and they are the staple requirements for industry and transportation in the modern world. Among the most pressing problems in the far west of Canada is how to make these available on reasonable terms for the needs of the world.

CHAPTER X.

A General Survey of the Dominion—Still worthy of the Beaver—Go North, Young Man!—Ever-Vexing Railway Problems—A Prophetic Suggestion—Problems of Railway Board—Controlling Immigration—Fostering Its Own Increase—Our Wheat Revenues—Canada's Full Supply—Spiritual Difficulties—All-Canadian View Empire Problems.

PREVIOUS chapters have sought to deal with questions which are of vital concern in each of the provinces. These problems have differed widely in form. The oldest part of the Dominion thinks itself at a disadvantage in relation to a newer section. One protests that it has been unjustly treated in the distribution of federal lands, another in being denied its natural resources and still another because of discriminatory railway rates. The outlying parts complain of lack of sympathy by the centre with their aspirations and their grievances. There are racial, religious, and educational difficulties to iron out. Physical barriers, and immense distances add to the difficulties. The adjustment of boundaries involves problems, direct and implied. Conflicting policies have to be reconciled. The

opening of new trade routes, and the changes they induce in the trend of commerce increase the complications of a situation already highly complex. All combine to leave no section of the Dominion without that prized possession —a grievance.

From these it will be appreciated how difficult is the task of giving co-herence to the thought, and a common impulse to the action, of groups of peoples separated by wide distances, by long intervals of history, and by varying racial origins, and religious beliefs.

There has been a sincere effort to examine these problems fairly. It would be unfortunate, however, if that attempt should leave an impression that Canada is an aggregation of units repellent to one another, and incapable of compromise or of concerted action.

"What impressed me most in my trip across Canada," said that thoughtful publicist, Hon. N. W. Rowell, recently, "was not the differences which divide the provinces of Canada, but the essential unity of all."

Less observant travellers have reached the same conclusion.

While the foregoing chapters have sought to explain these questions, they have not presumed to answer them. These subjects are much too involved for superficial comment. An effort has merely been made to disclose the facts, in the hope that, from a fuller knowledge by all, of the problems of each, the first step would be taken toward their solution.

So many letters, however, have been received, asking that the subjects at issue be pursued a little further, that in this concluding chapter some comment on things growing out of this series of articles, will be attempted.

Still Worthy of the Beaver

The industry of the Canadian people is not open to question. Much of the outdoor work of this country is carried on under rather stern conditions. But this is no deterrent to labor. Where men "slow down" or product is withheld, it is because of policy and not from reluctance to toil. The beaver has not yet lost its appropriateness as the emblem of Canada.

But the frugality of Canadians is not so evident. In older Canada, perhaps, it persists to a degree, as an inherited virtue. In other parts it is not conspicuous. The wastefulness of the North American is a constant surprise to the thrifty European, and the latter finds enough of it north of the international line to assure him that Canada is still part of the continent.

This extravagance in private life seems accentuated in the expenditures of public bodies and governments. The total debt of the Dominion, federal, provincial, and municipal—is stated to be $4,000,000,000. And it is still growing, and growing rapidly. It constitutes a menace staggering to a country of such limited population as Canada. The first problem in Canada and one which presses insistently for adjustment,

is its debt. This can be met by rigid economy, permitting the reduction of the national obligation, and thus reducing taxation which is crippling business, retarding development, diverting capital from industrial life, limiting employment, causing the migration of our citizens, and making Canada a dear country in which to live.

It is not an easy task. Those who administer Canadian affairs must work off large maps. At Confederation the Dominion embraced 662,148 square miles. To-day it includes 3,729,665 square miles. It is twice as big as the Roman Empire at the pinnacle of its power. Its park system is as big as Belgium. The ordinary administrative difficulties in such a huge territory are in themselves stupendous. And these are increased by sparseness of population. Those who compare the extent of Canada with that of the United States not only ignore the fact that Canadians are fewer in number, but that population is limited to restricted areas, and that there is a considerable section of Canada which can never be inhabited.

The late Senator Edwards was probably the most devoted of Sir Wilfred Laurier's admirers, outside those of his own race, but he was given to impatient speech when his great chief dwelt upon the vast resources of Canada. The senator insisted that the only portion of great potential wealth was a comparatively narrow strip along its southern boundary. The riches which northern mines, lumber, pulp, fish, coal and other

resources have since brought to the Dominion treasury have shown that the long visions of Laurier were more fully justified than the more cautious views of some of his contemporaries. But they do not alter the material facts of the case. And these, Canadians would do well to keep in mind.

Go North, Young Man!

One development which the senator may not have foreseen was the gradual deepening of the country. Slowly the flow of population westward, has shown a deflection to the north. Acadians in northern New Brunswick are clearing and thriving upon land which has hitherto been idle. Northern Ontario and northern Quebec—those new empires, recently added to our old provinces—are bringing enormous tracts of timber, rich mines, and great water powers into the column of wealth production. Fine cities have grown up in the northwest, surrounded by wheat fields where long only the bison grazed. Premier Bracken recalls that sixty years ago Illinois was regarded as the northern limit of the wheat belt. In 1882 Sir Wm. Crooks permitted that limit to be moved up as far north as Minnesota, but still kept the frozen country south of the international boundary.

"Europeans long ago pushed the polar regions out of Europe," says Stefansson. "We ought to push them out of Canada.

And one method of doing it is to develop by selection cereals which can be matured in

a hundred days on the rich plains which for so long were abandoned to the redskin and the buffalo. The arctics are no longer encountered south of Great Bear lake.

Even the limits of cereal growth no longer mark the boundaries of productive or habitable land. The great explorer mentioned, and the intrepid Grenfell of the Labrador coast, have accustomed the mind to possibilities in sub-arctic production which would have been dismissed as fantastic a few years ago. This year the Indians at the Hudson's Bay posts will again make pemmican from the carcasses of hundreds of buffalo from the Wainwright herd of 8,000, which has become too large for comfort. In the migratory season caribou by the thousand swarm across northern rivers, and actually stop navigation. Sanctuary of 10,000 square miles has been made this year near Great Slave lake, by the government for a wild herd of buffalo, estimated at 1,500, recently found in that uncharted district. Reindeer steaks from the great Alaska herds are regularly on sale at Seattle. The hybrid cattalo are multiplying rapidly in the far North. And leaving the land, the whale fisheries of B. C., it is estimated, could furnish 100,000,000 pounds of meat annually, bringing twelve cents a pound. How to give depth to the country has long concerned Canadian statesmen. They are not likely to ignore the possibilities in that connection of cheap food production suggested in the above facts.

Intimately associated with Canada's debt problem is her railway situation. Railways have long been a prime factor in the national life. They made confederation possible. Through them confederation has been extended and maintained. They facilitated the expansion and the consolidation of the nation. But they still constitute one of its greatest problems.

Ever-Vexing Railway Problems

Confederation followed closely the end of the American civil war, in which there was much Canadian sympathy with the South. Such records as remain of the debates of the time show the concern of our public men lest conditions might force Canada into the Union, as Taché phrased it, "if not by violence, because of an inclined plane which will carry us there insensibly." Open ports on both seas, and a railway connecting them—this was the confederation plan. Hugh John Macdonald, whose illustrious father did so much to bring this about, points out that the building of the Intercolonial Railway was a condition of the Maritimes coming into the union, and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, of British Columbia joining it. Therefore one of the principal problems of confederation was railways. And so it has ever since remained.

"As a corollary of confederation," says Mr. Macdonald, "based as it was, largely on railway considerations, the policy of the Do-

minion and the provinces should have been made to co-ordinate so as to avoid overlapping activities and jurisdictions. Thus we would have had a logical and comprehensive system, not as at present one disjointed and duplicated in many parts."

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir Robert Borden, when the measures for a second transcontinental railway were submitted, urged the need of the very co-ordination suggested by Mr. Macdonald. The language he used, while disregarded then, may be well kept in mind in planning future railways in Canada.

"There are in Canada," he said, "two great natural divisions, the East and the West. These are at present, in some respects, separate communities. They have business interests, which though so different in some respects should fit harmoniously into one another. These great divisions of our country are connected in summer by a magnificient highway, the waterway of the Great Lakes. In winter they are separated by one thousand miles of uninhabited country and there is some tendency with excellent railway connection to the south of us for the lines of trade to run north and south instead of east and west, as they should."

A Prophetic Suggestion

After pointing out that East and West were already served with existing railways, whereas the intervening territory was spanned only

by the C.P.R., he offered the following suggestion:

"Let the government acquire the C.P.R. from North Bay to Fort William, and make it a national highway. Let all the roads have running rights over it. To build two, perhaps three railways where one railway with running rights over it will serve the same purpose, is economic waste."

In the same way he urged a common highway across the Rockies.

To-day, twenty years later, after time has removed many of the principals, we are sufficiently remote from the political rivalries of that period to recognize the prescience of the suggestion. It was a grim commentary on our national foresight that under the pressure of a great war necessity, steam winches and sledge hammers were employed to take up one set of rails from a hundred miles of parallel track in the heart of the Rockies, to be transported to France, and that traffic was impeded by that act only long enough for a brakeman to throw a switch.

The fact that there has been such a huge waste on railway capital account lends more interest to the financial results of their operation now that they have come into the government's hands. Of the 36,000 miles of railway in Canada to-day sixty per cent. are government owned. Involuntarily and unwillingly the state has become the owner of railways the losses on which, probably unavoidable, con-

stitute an additional reason why national expenditures in all departments should come under very close scrutiny.

In a land so wide the lowering of the cost of transportation, involving as it does the whole policy of distribution and marketing, is being constantly pressed. That problem becomes more involved when as in Canada, the government is operating railways which are already losing money. Demands for the lowering of rates are peculiarly embarrassing in these circumstances because to give relief to the individual shipper the government can only add more imposts on his taxes, and still further swell the profits of private roads which necessarily must be allowed to charge the same rate.

This whole question of railway rates is beginning to loom large in the problems of government in Canada. The first inquiry took place in the northwest in 1895. A second followed in 1899. This was prolonged until 1902 and resulted in the creation of a permanent board in 1903 which has been kept constantly and increasingly active ever since.

Conditions in Canada make this board's work very onerous. The growth of new centres, the building of new lines, and the linking of old lines with new, make constant adjustments in rates necessary.

"The fluctuations of price levels," says Prof. D. A. McGibbon of the University of Alberta, "and the increase and diminishing of wage bills bring in factors in railway industry that

necessarily result in changes in the wage structure from time to time."

To these must be added the constant struggle for an equalization of rates such as is now forming the subject of a vigorous campaign before the railway board by the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia. The latter demand an adjustment of the anomaly whereby the railways charge as much to haul a bushel of wheat from Calgary to Vancouver as to haul it twice that distance from Calgary to Fort William—an injustice which neutralizes the benefits to Pacific ports of the Panama canal.

To what seems an unanswerable protest it is held by the railways that roads are built primarily on tonnage production possibilities, and that British Columbia, for instance, has the fewest people per mile and the lowest tonnage per mile of any province in the Dominion excepting Prince Edward Island. They quote approvingly the dictum of an old traffic manager that rates are determined by the three "C's"—competition, compromise, and circumstances. Exigencies of trade have, as a result, given rice a rate from Vancouver to Montreal only a third of that from Montreal to Vancouver. The mileage rate on lumber is much higher from Vancouver to Toronto than to Halifax, while the rate on canned fish from Vancouver to Halifax is much less than from Halifax to Winnipeg. They further claim that this preferential rate on the raw products of British Columbia, which constitute 85 per cent. of the freight

originating in that province, is a sufficient answer to the demand for an equalizing of the rate.

To both of these difficult factors is now being added a third, more far-reaching than either of the other two. The completion of the Panama canal brings it into the range of immediate consideration. The opening of Hudson's Bay will add still another factor. Goods can now be shipped by water from Halifax to Vancouver, via the Canal, for one sixth of the cost of the railway haul across the continent. This throws a large part of the West within the legitimate trading area of Pacific ports, which should become bases for interior trade. But this can only be done by a reduction of local rates on freight east-bound from the Pacific to local points. Westerners, too, can not understand why they should be denied the right to a customs officer at New York and to bonding privileges through that U. S. steamship port to and from Montreal as they may already bond through a U. S. rail point.

(Note: At time of writing the government has announced the appointment of this officer at New York.)

What is happening in connection with Panama will apply when the Bay is opened, as it most probably will be. Only a hundred miles of steel are required to complete it to Port Churchill, and considerably less will be needed to finish the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario to James Bay. Canada will then have

an ocean port, open for several months in the year, in the very heart of her grain belt. Port Nelson is nearer to Liverpool than is either New York or Montreal. The rich plateaus of the remote Peace River are nearer to the Bank corner than are the pampas of the Argentine in which so much English gold finds its investment. When the St. Lawrence canal system is finished ocean tonnage will be carried to the head of the lakes and more than one back door will have become a national exit to the highway of the sea.

Controlling Immigration

Like all large and empty lands, this country urgently needs more settlers. But it is not always easy to reconcile the points of view of the transportation companies, who see in every immigrant revenue for their lines, and that of the artizan and laborer who fear, in every able bodied new comer, a competitor in their market. The late J. J. Hill estimated the value to his line of every new settler at $1,000. A great Canadian railway sets it only a little lower. From this basis it is but a step to the open door policy of "pumping them in."

The ultimate immigration policy for Canada will doubtless be based on neither selfish exclusion, nor equally selfish grasping for mere rates and freights. A competent journalistic observer in the Commons press gallery, Grattan O'Leary, lays down two cardinal principles upon which the "immigration policy of Canada

should be foundationed: first, that quality shall take precedence over quantity; and second, that the welfare of the settler and not the settler's benefit to something else that we have in this country—such as our railways—shall be the primary object in view."

Under the first head we shall reject the revolutionary, the physically unfit, and the mentally incompetent, but never the man, woman, or boy who merely lacks money. We shall recognize that a hospitable law framed when our immigration tide was from northern Europe needs revision now that the bulk of these newcomers are from southern Europe. We shall probably feel that the rejection of a half of one per cent. of immigrants which has been the average for ten years, is so low as to merit scrutiny.

Mr O'Leary's second principle, if followed, would prevent the ignorant newcomer from being exploited by either predatory shipping agents, or by conscienceless real estate operators. It would find much to commend in the wholesome nomination system so successfully practised by the Australasian states whereby immigrants come to a new land by direct invitation of those of similar faith, race, fraternal, or social affiliations, to find themselves among friends. The more immigration methods can be humanized the more permanent are their results likely to be.

Most Canadians will find themselves in agreement with the sage observation of E. W.

Beatty, the able young Canadian president of the Canadian Pacific Railway:

"We either believe, or we don't believe, that this country can support more than nine millions of people. And if it can support more than nine millions of people then it requires more than nine million people to support it."

But the statement requires some qualification. Better a land of nine million free men than one of ninety million helots. Already in one section of Canada by generous immigration, and fecund birth rate, the Oriental has increased in numbers to a degree which brings the day of his preponderance in that district within measurable distance. Those sections are our frontier on the Pacific. Until the proper balance is restored immigration should be rigidly restrained or suspended. This can be done without offence to the proudest of our Oriental neighbors by limiting the numbers received yearly from the Asiatic side to the number of Canadians who annually seek domicile in these eastern lands. The rights of naturalization in Canada should be withheld from any nationals whose own laws do not permit their expatriation. This would exclude from the privileges of naturalization a numerous class who now seek it eagerly, and who claim with this privilege the boon of political rights.

In this connection the new comer whether from Europe or Asia, or from any of the sixty-four countries from which Canadian settlers

are recruited, might well be taught that the franchise is not an inherent right, but a conferred privilege. And the lesson would be the more pointed, if the anomaly of extending the right to vote to ignorant newcomers of a few months, untrained in our genius of government, while denying it to our sons until a proper probation had been served, were removed.

Fostering its Own Increase

One Canadian province has never joined in the clamor for immigrants. Instead it has offered to its people cheap or free lands, has even bonused them to clear these lands of timber, and has relied upon its own natural increase to people its lands. It is noteworthy that this is one of the most populous and prosperous of the Dominion. Britain, Germany, and the United States have all in turn demonstrated that natural increase following vigorous development of economic resources and increased food supply will accomplish more than the more artificial methods of immigration. Britain's population quadrupled during the nineteenth century in spite of heavy emigration, and without any effort to attract immigrants. Since 1870, in forty-four years, and under similar conditions to those in Britain, Germany advanced from 42,000,000 to 68,000,000. Contrary to general belief, the growth of the American states has been due to internal and not external causes. In fifty years native-born Americans have increased from 4,000,000 to

50,000,000. During the last three or four years when immigration has been rigidly restrained the States have maintained their annual growth of a million and a half, the equal of the most wide-open years of immigration. Both Washington and Jefferson believed that given proper conditions the native stock would meet all population requirements. Canada may not think it wise, as yet, to accept fully that policy, but in Quebec, at least, it seems to be vindicated, though under conditions peculiar to that part of the Dominion.

Our Wheat Revenues

The free homestead policy which is now becoming general throughout Canada should be an important factor in increasing settlement. For more than a year a hectic era of building in the States has drained Canada of much young blood. The immunity of the States from some of the financial penalties now being paid by earlier participants in the war, together with their greater wealth and population, has undoubtedly given them, temporarily at least, a great advantage in the commercial race. But as world conditions become normal and stabilized, Canada is not likely to suffer unduly. These treks have not all been in one direction. The great movement from the States to Canada a few years ago, which located American settlers on one-third of the hundred million acres homesteaded in the Canadian West, was viewed with as little equanimity by Uncle Sam, as is

the present movement of so many of Canada's sons to the South by us.

Canada being the second largest wheat producing country in the world (she grew 388,000,000 bushels in 1922) is vitally concerned in the marketing of that crop. The Wheat Board, to which extended reference was made in former articles, did not materialize. The shrewdest men in the grain trade recognized that without control of foreign competition through shipping agreements, and arrangements with regard to prices, with foreign countries, as was possible during the war, this board was robbed of some of the greatest elements in its success. The same considerations will militate against the proposed $300,000,000 shipping corporation in the States with which certain enthusiastic senators propose to stabilize wheat prices.

Instead of the Wheat Board, there is now proposed a voluntary pool among Alberta and Saskatchewan farmers. The services of a widely advertised marketing expert from California have been invoked to project the scheme. Its adoption this year is still in doubt.* But it may be that next year such a pool will be in operation, controlling its own elevators, and maintaining its own selling organization in the United Kingdom and on the continent. It is manifestly not so easy to operate as one in connection with citrus fruits and similar products where the zone of production is restricted. But gradually the Canadian farmer

*The proposal subsequently failed of adoption.

is struggling out to economic power. Here is a national problem which he proposes to solve himself through commercial and not political machinery. He is leaning less on the frail pillar of political action.

But he has still many faults to cure. This year's crop will bring enormous returns to the West. It would have brought more if western farmers had not competed for threshing outfits instead of co-operating. They would be happier to-day had they learned the lesson of agriculture in the Civil War, when, as now, high prices led to speculation in farm lands; when an era of over-production, and over-extensions of credit followed; and when a sudden drop left the farmers of that day, like the farmers of this, with crops they could not sell and with bank loans that they could not pay.

Canada's Fuel Supply

One of the most difficult of all Canada's problems has been that of her fuel supply. The country has abundant coal. But it lies in the East and West where population is sparse and manufacturing is in its infancy. In central Canada there is no coal. Yet this is where the bulk of the population lives and where most of the manufacturing is done. The long haul from Canadian coal beds, and its soft quality make its transport difficult and gives an advantage to the nearer American fuel. Hence central Canada goes on importing fifteen million tons of coal yearly though the anthracite fields

from which she draws her supply are expected to be exhausted in thirty-four years.

The transportation companies are trying to meet the situation with lower rates. But science is likely to find soonest the answer to this great problem. Already a domestic coke, equal to and no more expensive than anthracite, has been produced. Western governments have established experimental plants; western universities have set up testing laboratories. The interesting developments at Barnsley, England, (referred to in one of the maritime province articles) whereby under low temperature, motor and Diesel oils, lubricants and fertilizers can be abstracted while leaving a superior burning residue of coal, are being duplicated at Ford, Ont. Science will ultimately stop the sawmill waste of Canada which is estimated to represent yearly the equivalent of 1,700,000 tons of coal. The research and conservation branches of government in Canada will probably yet contribute more to the solution of her problems, if not starved by the exigencies of practical politics, than all the wisdom of Hansard since Confederation.

These branches, and private enterprise, are already bringing fuller realization of the possibilities of hydro-electric power. It is to-day the breath of industrial life in Ontario and in Quebec. Hydro enterprise has already, by harnessing cataract and waterfall, replaced 27,000,000 tons of coal. Industry will grow up more and more about the penstock and less

and less around the pit mouth. In this new era of industry Canada will be pre-eminent. Her enormous water energy, estimated at 20,000,000 horse-power, is available close to the points where it is and will be, most required. The snows along her heights of land insure a more even flow than in streams to the south. And, contrary to general belief, these powers are available on almost as generous a scale in the prairie provinces as on the Pacific slope and in older Canada. Manitoba stands third in water power production of all the provinces. The Churchill and the Nelson rival the gorge of Niagara in the volume and riot of their tumultuous waters.

More, as economy of operation prompted the manufacturer in the past to carry his plant to the coal, he will in future centre his activities close to the electric generator. It takes one hundred horsepower to make a ton of paper a day. This has led an eminent American publisher to advise U. S. paper men to establish their mills in Canada, reserving the lesser water powers of the U. S. for their more complex industrial activities. In any event the prohibition of export of both pulp and power—a likely action of the near future—may have an effect on the commercial life of Canada eclipsing anything accomplished by the artificialities of the tariff.

In this white coal Canada has, to quote the late Lord Shaughnessy, "a permanent and all-sufficient supply of hydraulic power, cheaper

than can be derived from coal which, indeed, has enriched nations, but which is an exhaustible asset."

Spiritual Difficulties

Science may solve the material problems of a people; it is powerless to influence or control those spiritual forces which are the elusive and often puzzling factors in producing a great and united nation. The work of the scientist cannot replace that of the statesman. But it should stimulate him. The constant internal adjustments between provinces so widely distributed and with interests sometimes so diverse must always present a task to challenge the tact, the wisdom, and the vision of great Canadian minds. The situation in the Maritimes is not one pleasant to contemplate. That group of provinces, without which confederation would not have been possible, has suffered much because of confederation. The handicaps under which these provinces rest are partly the outcome of circumstances, which may yield, more quickly than seems probable, to changing conditions. But Napoleon made circumstances. Even lesser rulers should not find all the grievances of that splendid people incapable of redress.

The growth of the French Canadian population and the resurgence of that race and of the Acadians in the seaboard provinces, is sometimes the subject of concerned comment. The solidarity of both these races is likely to become less marked year by year, and to be neutralized

by a great influx of British and other immigrants. As time goes on and as the asperities which so long marred the relationships of the two central provinces of Ontario and Quebec yield to the larger tolerance which to-day pervades the world, it may be found that what was so long treated as a problem in this country, may be a contributing factor in the stabilizing of its national life.

The most superficial observer must be impressed with the need of some stronger agencies to foster common ideals, preserve common traditions, and promote unity throughout the Dominion. Its people would be helped to think more generally in national terms, if public men would visit and address them more frequently. A former speaker of the House of Commons, after his first trans-Canada journey gave it as his deliberate opinion that no man should be permitted to remain in parliament who did not cross Canada, from Atlantic to Pacific, at least once during his term of office.

There are other agencies which can make their contribution to that end. Common medical, dental, legal, and educational certificates, accepted in every province, would facilitate the free interchange of professional men between all sections and be a great influence in destroying insularity. The pulpit, because it permits that facility of movement, is an influence of unity the value of which it is hard to estimate. The physical features of Canada do not make for national newspapers, but the constant

movement of reporters and editors among various publications in different sections is another unifying agency. Any magazine which, braving the great financial obstacles in the way, attempts to speak with a national voice to the whole Canadian people, is doing a service, in the same connection, of the first magnitude.

All-Canadian View

The enterprise of Canadian papers in maintaining a telegraphic news service from coast, to coast, and thus furnishing a highway of thought across the whole Dominion, as the railways have already furnished one of trade, is a factor of such vital importance that it merits whole-hearted support from both government and people. The former has assisted this enterprise for some years by doing for its wires what Sir Robert Borden wanted to do for its rails, namely: span the unproductive void between settled and productive areas with a bridge built and maintained out of the common revenues.

A minor contribution to the cause of unity might be made by appointing the Governors for each province from among the public men of the others. This would have the added advantage of permitting the elevation to such an office of men in each province who had been politically active, and who could be honored in another where the bitterness of party feeling might make such an act inexpedient in his own. It would at the same time preserve to our

public life the ripe experience of our most eminent men, and would furnish another bond of sympathy and understanding among the sisterhood of confederation.

As Canadian life develops, and is brought more and more in touch with that of other lands, one of the anomalies of our international machinery might with great advantage be removed. The Far East, as well as the mixed races of Europe, should be under more intelligent scrutiny, and the cleverest linguists in our universities should be specially schooled in the language, customs, and history of the nations which are sending their people to our shores. Canada is depending to-day for such knowledge on interpreters of the foreign races concerned. This is both unsatisfactory and dangerous. Foreign interpreters should be replaced by Canadian ones.

Empire Problems

The problems of Canada do not stop within her boundaries. Her place in the family of Empire has never been, and perhaps never can be, defined. It finds expression in an attitude of mind rather than in a statutory enactment. Sometimes heedless talk creates impressions regarding the purposes of the Canadian people which are misleading. At different periods, during the journeys necessary to complete these articles, questions were asked as to secession sentiment in the East and annexation sentiment in the West. There is little evidence

of either. The Canadian people have passed that stage, if it ever really existed. They are prepared to fight for their rights, but fight within the family circle and not outside of it. Few responsible people in the Maritimes seriously talk secession, though they may not be insensible to the political value of such a reference. Premier Dunning of Saskatchewan will tell any who seek to know that the pro-British sentiment in Saskatchewan, unobstrusive though it is, needs only occasion for its exercise to be quickly disclosed. British visitors marvel at the unction with which Canadians sing the National Anthem. They cannot understand why American thought, speech, and sentiment have so lightly influenced ours. Perhaps a smaller people are the more tenacious of their own laws, customs and political genius, and a little more pronounced in their loyalty to their own Empire, because they live alongside a powerful neighbor who is not slow to voice the opinion that he is not among the least of the nations of the earth. The question of affiliating with any other nation is not a problem in Canada.

In some sections of Canada one or two of the leading newspapers are in the habit of discussing Canadian politics, and more particularly Canada's relation to the Motherland, in a manner which it is sometimes thought may create false impressions among the foreign elements which bulk so largely in the regions in question. It is conceivable that comments which would be perfectly safe, and discussions

which would be profitable in parts peopled by our own stock, may be mischievous when circulated among those who do not properly understand the British habit of frankness in such discussions. Those who have fled from government because it has been tyrannical, and who instinctively feel that all government is a hated thing, may be fortified in that opinion when they read editorials which seem to suggest that Downing street is plotting against our autonomy. On no section of the community has the problem of instructing the foreign born in Canadian ideas imposed a heavier responsibility than on the press. These editors must be constantly forced to balance their instinct to speak their minds freely with the consciousness that though they "may hold the doctrine sound," it is often unwise

> "to preach it as a truth
> "To those that eddy round and round."

Whatever serious politicians may think, or say, or however necessary they may believe it to be to furnish guidance to this country in its relations to the Motherland and other parts of the Empire, their concern does not seem to be generally shared. On the few occasions when it became necessary to indicate Canada's attitude, her people have not waited for suggestions but have taken such action as has left no doubt of her sentiments. Many years ago Rosebery drew a picture of what the Empire

might have been had Pitt not accepted a peerage and by leaving the House of Commons lost both his sanity and his authority, the whole resulting in the loss or alienation of that newer thought and virile strength which, as a daughter, the United States would have brought to Imperial counsels. He pictured how, when Americans became the majority, the seat of Empire would have passed solemnly across the Atlantic and Britain would have become the historical shrine, and the European outpost of a world Empire whose seat would have been on this side of the Atlantic.

Possibly the realization of that vision has only been delayed. Since he spoke, not only has a great Canadian Armada borne her sons in brigades and divisions to the defence of the Old Land, but the cataclysm of that war has directed attention more and more from the Mother Country to the new world where the genius of British institutions may have the freedom of expression which hampers them in the fœtid atmosphere of Europe.

Sir George Foster is fond of saying that the problems of this country will disappear, and her momentum be assured, when she has reached a population of 20,000,000. That may not be such a long view. Canada has to-day as large a population as England had at the beginning of the 19th century and twice as many as the U.S. had at the Revolution.

Lord Chancellor Birkenhead as he hurried across Canada the other day, suggested that

he would feel as happy as a citizen of the Empire when the seat of government was transferred to Ottawa as he does while it is at Downing street. It is not without significance that a prince of the blood Royal, the heir-apparent to the throne, should forsake Piccadilly and find his holiday neither at a French watering place nor on Scottish moors, but in chaps and sombrero, riding the ranges of his own ranch in the foothills of the Rockies. If these things give a hint of the larger destiny which may in this generation be Canada's, they carry also the challenge that her national programme shall be on a scale adequate to a future so alluring.

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